JONATHAN S. BURGESS

THE DEATH AND AFTERLIFE OF ACHILLES

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JONATHAN S. BURGESS

The Johns Hopkins University Press
Baltimore

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Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper
2 4 6 8 9 7 5 3 1

The Johns Hopkins University Press
2715 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218-4363
www.press.jhu.edu

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Burgess, Jonathan S., 1960-
The death and afterlife of Achilles / Jonathan S. Burgess.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN–13: 978–0–8018–9029–1 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN–10: 0–8018–9029–2 (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Achilles (Greek mythology) in literature.
2. Homer. Iliad. 3. Epic poetry, Greek—
History and criticism. I. Title.
PA4037.B83 2008
883′.01—dc22 2008013939

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Special discounts are available for bulk purchases of this book. For more information, please contact Special Sales at 410-516-6936 or specialsales@press.jhu.edu.

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For Emmet Robbins

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My 2001 book, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle,* can be understood as a methodological introduction for the present book, which focuses on the character of Achilles, both within and outside of Homeric epic. I have explored the topic in various publications over the past decade (Burgess 1995, 1999, 2001b, 2004b, 2004c, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c), parts of which have now been revised and reconstituted with much new material to form the whole of this book (I thank the editors of these various publications for permissions). The published articles usually present a particular thesis reserved for those publications (though Burgess 2006a presents a précis of central arguments in this book). The genesis of the book, so described, may remind one of Homeric controversies concerning textual origins and transmission, and so I hasten to affirm that the final product is not a collection of disparate material but a creative unity on which I have long been meditating. For continuity of argument and inclusiveness of audience, I have often slimmed down detailed arguments that appeared in my earlier work. Efforts were made as well to make the endnotes selective and concise in style. I am well aware that some simplification of argument may result; neoanalsyst methodology, for example, is presented as more monolithic than is the case.

The work is dedicated to my teacher, Emmet Robbins, who first steered my narratological interests toward neoanalysis, and whose fascinating 1993 article, "The Education of Achilles," served as a model for my subsequent work (as I increasingly realize). Emmet was always a very devoted supervisor of students, and I very much hope that he will take pleasure in the publication of this project.

For various kindnesses related to this work I would also like to thank Egbert Bakker, Maureen Basedow, Pia Guldager Bilde, Chris Brown, Christer Bruun, Erwin Cook, Casey Dué, Susan Downie, Peter Heslin, Joachim Hupe, Margalit Finkelberg, John Foley, Drew Griffith, Wolfgang Kullmann, Gregory Nagy, Annabel Orchard, and Jane Rempel. Jonathan Tomlinson of the Canadian Institute in

Greece was of great assistance for iconographical research in Greece. Steven Lowenstam very generously engaged in lengthy correspondence about our ongoing projects shortly before his untimely death (though he shared with me drafts of portions of Lowenstam 2008, unfortunately I have not been able to make use of the final product). Suat Ateslier, Emre Oncu, Melinda Barnadas, Marie Mauzy, the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, and the Royal Ontario Museum library provided assistance in acquiring illustrations. Students in my graduate seminars and undergraduates in the University of Toronto's Research Opportunity Program who contributed to this project (notably Sarah Mark and Ricky Przyklenk) also deserve my thanks. Ilona Kosova and Julia Lougovaya heroically translated many Ukrainian and Russian works for me. I was also fortunate to have as research assistants at various times Michal Dziong, Seth Estrin, Laura Mawhinney, Tim Perry, Jennifer Phenix, and Lee Sawchuck. For such assistance and financial support, I am indebted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The Johns Hopkins University Press is owed my gratitude, notably Michael Lonegro and Josh Tong, as well as Gregory Nagy, who was a reader. Thanks also to copyeditor Brian MacDonald. Apologies to those I have not mentioned. My wife Jane and my family were very supportive, as always.

For ancient proper names, I employ traditional, Latinized spellings for the most familiar names but routinely use direct transliterations (apologies for the inconsistency). Somewhat differently than before, the term *cyclic* when capitalized refers to the specific poems of the Epic Cycle and their earlier versions or performance traditions; uncapitalized, it refers to oral epic poems of their type (countless and mostly undocumented). By *Homeric poems* I mean the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* exclusively (textual references are to the West edition for the *Iliad* and the Oxford Classical Text for the *Odyssey*). *Pre-Homeric* is necessarily vague, because I do not favor an early, single date for the composition of the Homeric poems. It generally refers to a time before these poems or poetic traditions became identifiably distinct from the larger tradition. *Pre-Iliadic* is used similarly and does not refer to mythological events leading up to the story of the *Iliad*. *Non-Homeric* refers to what is independent of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

For mythological representations, I use primarily the catalog numbers in the now completed *Lexicon Iconigraphicum Mythologiae Classicae* (*LIMC*), though museum catalog numbers are also routinely given. Representations often appear in more than one article of the *LIMC* because of their portrayal of multiple characters; preference is given to major articles or entries with corresponding photographs (indicated by asterisk, unless more than three entries are listed at once; the abbreviation ill. indicates that an illustration is in the text of the article); cross-references are now available in the appendices of the *LIMC*.

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Bergk	T. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici Graeci,* 6th ed. (Leipzig, 1923).
Bernabé	A. Bernabé (ed.), *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta,* vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1987; corrected ed., 1996).
Bode	G. H. Bode (ed.), *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres Romae nuper reperti,* 2 vols. (Celle, 1834).
IOSPE	B. Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae,* 2 vols. (Peterburg, 1885–1901; 2nd ed., 1916; repr., Hildesheim, 1965).
LIMC	H. C. Ackermann and J. R. Gisler (eds.), *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Munich and Zürich, 1981–1999).
L-P	E. Lobel and D. Page (eds.), *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta* (Oxford, 1955).
M-W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (eds.), *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford, 1967).
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae melici Graeci* (Cambridge, 1962).
PMGF	Davies, M. (ed.), *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta,* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1991).
Radt	S. Radt (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta,* vols. 3, 4 [Aeschylus, Sophocles] (Göttingen, 1977–1985).
West	M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992).
SEG	P. Roussel et al. (eds.), *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923–).

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The Death and Afterlife of Achilles

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Introduction

The death and afterlife of Achilles would seem to have little to do with Homer: Achilles does not die in the *Iliad,* and the Homeric poem is decidedly reticent about any special afterlife for the hero. The other Homeric poem, the *Odyssey,* puts the hero squarely in Hades. The Homeric poems, however, developed within mythological traditions that included extensive material about Achilles. The *Iliad* is not just aware of this myth about Achilles but alludes to it through repeated and sophisticated references. Using extant evidence from various media (epic, lyric poetry, drama, iconography), we can reconstruct the pre-Homeric story of Achilles, which will permit a fuller understanding of its poetic role within the *Iliad.*[1]

Although one of this study's primary concerns is establishing pre-Homeric myth, a wide range of material about the hero, no matter its nature or origin, is considered. Stories about Achilles invented at a relatively late date potentially employ themes that stem from very early conceptions of the hero's life and death. Nonliterary phenomena, such as hero cult and material culture, are also of great value. The hero cult of Achilles provides a different yet highly relevant perspective on the mythological narrative about Achilles. Post-Homeric investigation of the hero's supposed burial mound in the Troad, besides being fascinating in its own right, allows us to gauge the reception of epic portrayals of the hero in antiquity and beyond.

The *Iliad* looks outside its own narrative boundaries toward previous and later events in the life of Achilles. It alludes directly to pre-Homeric myth about Achilles and also seems to reflect it indirectly, more so than is usually realized. By so doing, the Homeric poem is probably not alluding to a specific poem, like an "Achilleis" (a poem featuring Achilles), but rather playing off known mythological traditions about Achilles. To be sure, the *Iliad* also seems to suppress, reject, or be ignorant of some stories about Achilles. And it often is innovative in its treatment of Achilles. How the *Iliad* significantly engages with non-Homeric narrative, and how an ancient audience would comprehend the Homeric poem's employment of tradition about Achilles, are issues that need to be explored.

In Homeric studies the school of thought known as neoanalysis has been especially concerned with looking for Homeric reflections of extra-Homeric myth, especially the *Iliad*'s reflection of the death of Achilles. Neoanalysts look for evidence of irregularity in Homeric verse to argue for innovative use of traditional material by a single poet—a stance that melds the nit-picking techniques of the analysts, dominant in nineteenth-century German scholarship, with the romanticizing attitude of the unitarians, who celebrate the inventive genius of a master poet. In an earlier period neoanalyst activity would have been called *Quellenforschung,* or research into the sources of a literary work. For the pre-Homeric tradition of the Trojan War, neoanalysts have primarily used as a source the Epic Cycle, a collection of epic poems that embrace the whole of Greek mythological traditions, from theogonic beginnings to the Trojan War. This study often uses neoanalyst methodology as a starting point, but it aims to give more attention to the significance of the *Iliad*'s interaction with oral traditions.

The tradition of the Trojan War is the fundamental background of the Homeric poems, and the Epic Cycle poems, though now lost, provide important information about it. Reconstruction of the Cyclic tradition, admittedly, is difficult and controversial, but it is also revealing. For example, early Greek art reflected material found in the Cycle (but not necessarily the specific Cycle poems themselves, or even epic traditions) much earlier and much more often than they reflected Homeric themes. It is also apparent that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not immediately dominate their tradition: post-Homeric evidence for the pre-Homeric tradition is not necessarily contaminated by Homeric influence, at least not at an early date.[2] Using information about the Cycle available to us, we can begin to reconstruct the outlines of early Greek myth that an early Greek audience would have known when it heard the Homeric poems. In this way, we can most fully enjoy the evocation and reception of the Trojan War tradition that would have potentially occurred when Homeric poetry was performed.

The Homeric poems used to be dated to the late eighth century, but that view has been increasingly challenged. Though great variance exists among the many theories involving a later date, the old *communis opinio* can no longer be assumed with as much confidence as before.[3] Many now prefer to take a more flexible approach to the dating of early epic poems, in recognition of the fluidity of epic composition, performance, and transmission in a largely oral culture. For what it is worth, I conceive of the Homeric poems as performance traditions that acquired recognizably distinct identities and largely fixed states over the course of the seventh century, with some Cycle poems coming into existence concurrently during this time, some shortly afterward, and some significantly later. Here, as

elsewhere (Burgess 2001a:4–5), I see no need to assume a master poet of a certain date named "Homer," even as I argue that the Homeric poems are unified and sophisticated. Nor do I feel compelled to offer alternative explanations of the origin of the Homeric poems. Perhaps the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* eventually became valued enough, not least for their sociopolitical functions, that they became stabilized in reperformance.[4] This approach to the dating of early Greek epic may seem vague (Kullmann 2002:170 n.50), but more specific dating of early Greek epics, if joined with a disregard of the anthropological circumstances of performance culture, can quickly lead to misleading conclusions.

Although controversies over the relative dating of early epics are often fascinating, it is most important to realize that relatively late poems are not necessarily influenced by relatively early poems. In the early Archaic Age there was no Amazon.com, and very few if any manuscripts of long epics would have been available for reading. Publication of an epic by performance would be limited (even that of the successful Homeric poems, whose great length seems to have prevented their early influence). "Late" poems may well represent mythological traditions that precede "early" poems, and a "post-Homeric" epic may be a manifestation of "pre-Homeric" myth. When considering the possibility of pre-Homeric mythological traditions, we need to be concerned not so much with the specific dates of early Greek epics, or their relation to one another, as with their use of mythological traditions. This type of "intertextuality" is essential for the unlocking of the full potential in meaning of an epic like the *Iliad.*

By the Classical Age, the names Homer and Hesiod had become famous as representatives of the narrative and catalog branches, respectively, in the epic genre. The *Iliad, Odyssey, Theogony,* and *Works and Days* were accepted as canonical works. The Homeric poems were Panhellenic in nature, composed to be acceptable anywhere in the Greek world, and the ambitious comprehensiveness of the Hesiodic poems, though more centered on a particular creative persona and place, served Panhellenic needs. Other epics, though more local in nature, had also survived—often ascribed to Homer—and some were eventually collected together to form the Epic Cycle (Burgess 2001a:7–46; 2005). The Cycle, however, seems to have been a Hellenistic textual approximation of what were amorphous, notional mythological traditions in the Archaic Age. Epic Cycle poems were valued in the Classical Age as the remnants of oral epic traditions of the past, but in origin they were probably just the happenstance recordings from a time when oral epic tradition had been vibrant. At that time there would have been thousands of epic poems in performance currency.

Not all, to be sure, were professionally composed or reached large audiences.

When we think of the early Greek epic tradition, we need to move beyond the limited number of epics that we now possess. Greeks of the Classical Age had little sense of the multifarious nature of epic in the past, and by the fifth century, as in the modern age, it was natural to focus on a few epics and a few poets. By the Hellenistic Age, apparent connections and correspondences between the surviving epics were considered to be the result of direct influence. Although Aristarchos and other scholars established a schematic, chronological sequence of development, we cannot continue to understand the literary history of the early epic tradition within this circumscribed perspective. The assumption that a few epics influenced one another at an early date in the Archaic Age is anachronistic, and the textualized approach to epic filiation must give way to a more mythological one.

In this work, three types of narrative are posited: cyclic myth, cyclic epic, and Homeric epic. The term *Cyclic* when capitalized refers to the specific poems of the Epic Cycle and their earlier versions or performance traditions; uncapitalized, it refers to oral epic poems of their type (countless and mostly undocumented). Poems of the Epic Cycle are epic versions of cyclic myth; Homeric epic developed as a self-conscious extension of cyclic myth and epic. Both cyclic and Homeric epic are manifestations of cyclic myth, and both share the same form (long narrative in dactylic hexameter), but Homeric epic seems more complex. Whereas cyclic epic apparently presents the narrative in cyclic myth directly, Homeric epic responds to cyclic myth in a more sophisticated manner. This study explores how the *Iliad* can imply cyclic narrative through indirect allusion (the *Odyssey* presents cyclic content in a more narratological, if equally sophisticated manner). In the sense that Homeric epic employs cyclic traditions in order to implement its full meaning, we might say that Homeric epic is "metacyclic."[5]

Such categorization is artificial to a large degree. The boundaries between cyclic and Homeric qualities are certainly not rigid. Distinctions between them have been exaggerated in the past and cannot easily be established with precision. Book 10 of the *Iliad,* for instance, has been suspected as a later addition to the poem from antiquity onward (see Danek 1988); if so, the (nearly) successful integration of book 10 underscores the potential blurring of cyclic and Homeric poetry. Many aspects of the Homeric poems, and indeed many passages within them, can fairly be labeled "cyclic" (Burgess 2001a:132–171). My categorization and terminology are designed as tools of analysis, meant to establish the general characteristics of cyclic and Homeric epic and their relative distinctions. My intention is not to devalue the Epic Cycle but rather to demonstrate how integral cyclic material is to the poetics of the *Iliad.*[6]

It is admittedly very difficult to evaluate neoanalyst claims in the absence of pre-Homeric evidence. The Epic Cycle is very valuable as a source of information, but it survives only in brief fragments, summaries, and indirect testimonia. This unfortunate situation, though, may not be entirely negative, because it limits its reconstruction of pre-Homeric myth to its basic, stable motifs. This is exactly what Homeric poetry would reflect—not texts—in its mirroring of extra-Iliadic material. If the Cyclic *Aithiopis* had survived, it would be misguided to seek detailed correspondence between it and the *Iliad,* because one cannot assume that these two poems were composed with knowledge of one another.[7] It is entirely reasonable, however, to assume that these two poems, along with countless others, were composed with knowledge of the same mythological traditions. Similarities between two poems that are cognate within the same tradition will exist at the level of major, not minor, elements. Of course, identifying what is minor and major in a narrative is admittedly subjective.

Some indications of variation in the Cyclic epic tradition may challenge belief in a largely unified tradition. Polyxena is not sacrificed but dies of wounds, for instance, in the *Kypria* (fr. 34 Bernabé), and there was disagreement as to whether Neoptolemos (*Il. Mikr.* fr. 25 Bernabé) or Odysseus (*Il. Pers.*, Proklos) threw Astyanax off the city walls. Variation undoubtedly occurred, and mythological narratives changed. Unsettling as mythological flexibility might be, there remains sufficient evidence to reconstruct the basic outlines of the early mythological tradition of the Trojan War with confidence.

Tradition is a word that is bandied about a lot (it has already appeared numerous times in this introduction). I realize that there is danger of tradition being romanticized, or being used rhetorically and defensively to appeal to evidence that does not exist. It must be conceded from the start that the traditions of Greek mythology were flexible, variant, and innovating. Myth changed from place to place and from period to period, in response to the needs of media, genre, performance circumstances, and narrative strategy. While it would be mistaken to insist that the details of any one manifestation of a myth were always present in every telling of that myth, it is also clear that Greek myth was remarkably stable in the presentation of the sequences of major actions that constituted any given story. The outlines of the major cycles of Greek myth were already delineated and organized by the time the Homeric poems were composed. Although one must resist the circularity of reconstructing pre-Homeric myth on the basis of Homeric evidence, it is fair to say that the *Iliad* assumes the existence of a fairly unified and recognizable tradition of the Trojan War. Mythological traditions were dominant, essential factors in the construction of meaning in the Homeric poems.[8]

The first chapter of this study justifies the concept of a unified mythological "biography" of Achilles and then demonstrates how many episodes from the early life of Achilles are predicated upon his destined death—or, more precisely, upon Thetis's anxious attempts to forestall this fate. Chapter 2 surveys a wide range of evidence in order to establish a basic story, or *fabula* in narratological terms, of Achilles' death.[9] The *fabula* of the death of Achilles is not presented as the reconstruction of a historical epic poem but rather as an indication of pre-Homeric myth about Achilles' death as it would have been commonly understood. With this story established, I proceed to an exploration of the importance of Achilles' death for the *Iliad*. The third chapter provides a narratological examination of various passages within the *Iliad* that explicitly discuss the death of Achilles. Of particular concern are apparent inconsistencies that exist between Iliadic passages on the destiny and death of Achilles. It is demonstrated that the poem betrays knowledge of a stable mythological tradition about the hero's death that it employed in the service of its own poetics, often with ad hoc invention of details.

The fourth chapter considers the nature of inexplicit reflection of non-Homeric myth by the *Iliad*. Correspondence between Homeric and non-Homeric material can be termed a type of intertextuality, though the meaning of that very fluid term needs to be explored. Building upon neoanalyst arguments from an oralist perspective, I argue that an allusive type of intertextuality is characteristic of the poetics of the *Iliad*. This discussion prepares for the survey in chapter 5 of neoanalyst arguments about the *Iliad*'s reflection of the death of Achilles. Although many neoanalyst arguments are persuasive, much else needs to be rejected or reinterpreted. The chapter then examines how the notional story of the death of Achilles functions within the *Iliad*. The poem's intertextual "reflection" of Achilles' death is much more allusive and organized than has been realized.

The final two chapters consider various aspects of the hero's afterlife. In chapter 6 the *Iliad*'s emphasis on the hero's mortality and the *Odyssey*'s placement of the hero in Hades are discussed within the context of other (dominant) traditions in which Achilles enjoyed immortality at a special paradise location. An analysis of the spectrum of possibilities for heroic afterlife in early Greek myth demonstrates that seemingly contradictory epic passages concerning Achilles' burial and afterlife may not be entirely incompatible. Discussion of Achilles' afterlife would not be complete without attention to the hero cult of Achilles, addressed in chapter 7. Cult worship of Achilles flourished especially in the north-

ern Black Sea region, but the supposed site of the burial mound of Achilles in the Troad also attracted cult attention, among other types of visitation. The chapter discusses attempts to identity the hero's burial site in antiquity and in modern times—evidence for continuing fascination with the death and afterlife of Achilles.

The Early Life of Achilles

Before we proceed to an examination of the death of Achilles, episodes from earlier in his mythological biography need to be considered. Talking of the hero's "biography" may seem misguided when in surviving early Greek epic Achilles is just one character in the larger story of Troy. And surveying episodes in Achilles' life that often seem obscure, contradictory, and post-Homeric may appear antiquarian. Despite variances in the surviving evidence, however, myth about Achilles has a basic coherence. Although we do not know of any early "Achilleis," or epic that featured the hero exclusively, there probably existed in the early Archaic Age a unified life story of Achilles, at least as a notional mythological construct.[1]

Greek myth was often oriented around the life story of a central hero, like Theseus or Herakles. Early epics about these two heroes have not survived either, yet Aristotle in the *Poetics* (8.2) reports that epics were commonly organized around them, and vases and temple metopes from the sixth and fifth centuries represented extended sequences of their deeds.[2] A coherent life of Achilles also is implied by early Greek poetry and art. Possibly Achilles existed as a traditional mythological figure before his inclusion in the Trojan War. If so, eventually the intersection of his story and the Trojan War became essential for both narratives. Achilles is a primary agent in the war, even if he does not survive until Troy's fall, and his death at Troy is the climactic point in his own biographical story.[3]

If the totality of the story of Achilles' life was well known, then any narrative about a single episode in his life could potentially look backward and forward thematically in the hero's life.[4] Some themes involved characteristics of Achilles, like his swiftness, which recurred in multiple episodes. Other themes linked episodes from different periods in a causal sense. Apollo's anger at Achilles for the murder of Troilos in the early stages of the war, for example, could be thought to motivate his aid in the slaying of Achilles.

At a deeper level, mythological episodes about Achilles were often predicated on an essential concept, the hero's semidivinity. The dual nature of Achilles, mortal and immortal, underlies much traditional narrative about the hero: the

multiple attempts of his divine mother Thetis to forestall his fate, the tragic death at Troy, and an existence after death marked by special privileges and powers. The stories vary and are undoubtedly of different date, but running through their sequence is the theme of his mortality. His death at Troy cannot be prevented, yet he subsequently enjoys an afterlife befitting his divine heritage.[5]

Thetis's concern over the fate of Achilles is the thematic engine that generates the stories about his early life. Thetis was often portrayed as unhappily married to Peleus against her will. Not only is a mortal unworthy of her divine status, but also her offspring is inherently compromised by mortality. Thetis also becomes aware that an early death at Troy is destined for Achilles. Within the mythological biography of Achilles, anguished attempts by Thetis to prevent this fate begin with his infancy. The famous story of Thetis dipping Achilles into the river Styx to make him invulnerable is first attested in Roman mythology, but it has earlier Greek prototypes. The Greek stories suggest that from the start of Achilles' life Thetis is obsessed with her heroic son's semidivinity. Her attempt to make him completely immortal by burning off his mortal half fails, only to be followed by many other schemes to prevent or delay his destined death.

Before we proceed to other stories, it is worthwhile to review the evidence for this key episode, especially because the modern conception of Achilles' heel is based on late evidence.[6] Achilles is not portrayed as invulnerable in the *Iliad*. He is wounded on the arm at 21.166–167, and Agenor remarks about him later in this book (lines 568–570), καὶ γάρ θην τούτῳ τρωτὸς χρὼς ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ, ἐν δὲ ἵα ψυχή, θνητὸν δέ ἑ φασ᾽ ἄνθρωποι ἔμμεναι (the skin even for this one is vulnerable to sharp bronze, and there is only one life in him, and men say he is mortal). But invulnerability is not unknown in Greek mythology, linked with such figures as Ajax, Kaineus, Kyknos, and Talos the bronze man.[7] Ajax and Talos are especially comparable, because Ajax also had a uniquely vulnerable spot and Talos lost all his blood through an opening or wound in his ankle. It is impossible to determine whether Achilles influenced these characters, or vice versa, and it is probably misguided to seek the origin of the motif.[8]

In literature the Styx-dipping tradition is not attested until Statius in the late first century CE (*Achil.* 1.133–134, 268–270, 480–481), and certain depictions of the dipping of Achilles in the Styx do not occur until after the time of Statius.[9] The story must precede Statius, because his remarks are so incomplete and allusive that information from later mythographers and scholiasts are required to understand what he means.[10] Although there is no evidence for the story of Achilles' heel in early Greek myth, traditions in which Thetis desires to place Achilles in fire or boiling water are suggestively reminiscent of it. The versions vary, but

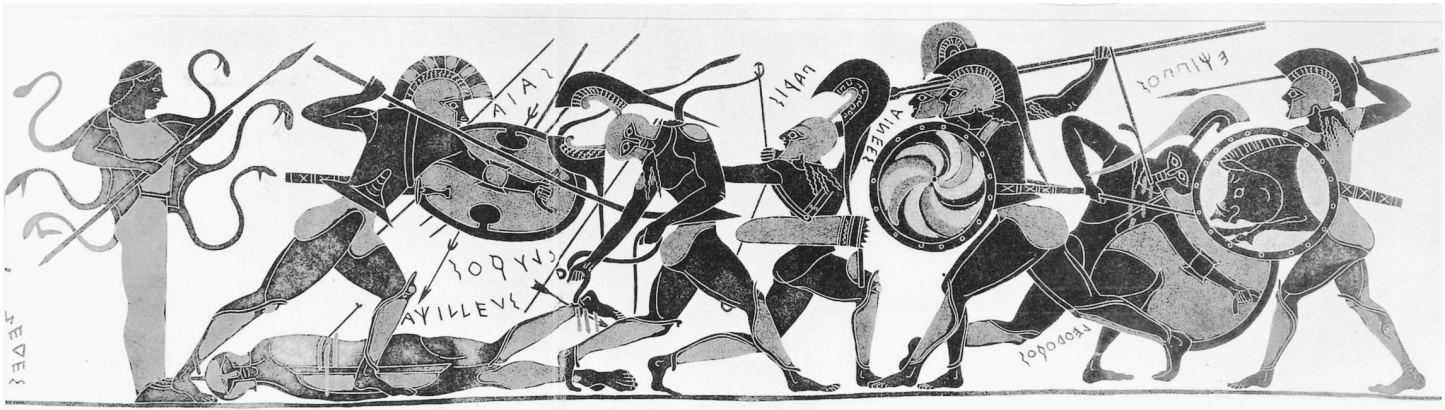
Dipping of infant Achilles in the Styx. Silver plate, fourth century CE. Kaiseraugst, Kaiseraugst Museum. Image courtesy of the Kaiseraugst Museum.

Thetis is either testing the mortality of her children (sometimes multiple) or attempting to make them immortal; Achilles is saved at the last minute when Peleus interrupts the destructive process.[11] It is important to notice that the early traditions differ from the later story of Achilles' heel in motives and consequences. In the Greek traditions, it is immortality, not invulnerability, that is desired. Ultimately, Achilles' nature is not changed, whereas in the later Roman story near invulnerability is effected. The later Roman story of Achilles' heel does correspond thematically to the earlier Greek traditions, however. Once again, an infant is dipped into a destructive element. The Styx was considered extremely cold, poisonous, or fiery, qualities comparable to the fire and boiling water of the early traditions.[12]

The sources for the story of Achilles' heel often state that Achilles died when he was struck by an arrow in the one place not affected by the Styx. Earlier accounts of the death of Achilles also seem to refer to a lower world. Proklos's summary of the *Aithiopis* does not indicate where Achilles was wounded, but Apollodoros, who apparently used this poem as a source, states that Achilles was struck in the ankle (σφυρόν, *Epit.* 5.3). Quintus of Smyrna, who also probably had recourse to the *Aithiopis,* says Achilles was struck on the ankle (σφυρόν, 3.62). In the *Aithiopis* reference to an ankle wound is probable. Stesichoros may also have told of a wound to Achilles' ankle, for the letters σφυρ are present in a recently discovered fragment that has been linked with the death of Achilles.[13]

The literary sources for the Styx-dipping that do state where Achilles remains vulnerable specify the ankle. As Gantz (1993:628) has pointed out, words for "heel" in the Romance languages derive from *talus,* the Latin word for ankle, and this must have caused the common (mis)conception that it is Achilles' heel that is vulnerable. It is therefore most interesting that a lost Chalkidian amphora (*LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 850* = "Alexandros" no. 90) from the mid-sixth century BCE depicts the slain Achilles wounded in the back of the lower leg, just above the ankle. Yet because there is a second arrow sticking out of the hero's flank, with blood streaming out of the wound, the Chalkidian amphora cannot represent the concept of Achilles' imperfect invulnerability.[14]

Some early Greek representations have been thought relevant. Sometimes Apollo is depicted holding out an arrow toward Achilles; the downward-directed point possibly implies a lower wound.[15] Other early images may depict the death of Achilles, though without inscriptions certainty is elusive.[16] An Etruscan black-figure amphora from the late sixth century BCE may show Paris (identified by headgear) about to shoot Achilles from behind as Achilles chases another warrior.[17] Perhaps Paris is aiming at the lower part of Achilles' front leg, which would



Body of Achilles on the battlefield. Chalkidian amphora, lost, mid-sixth century BCE. Photo by Brian Boyle of Rumpf 1927: pl. 12, courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

be in accordance with the tradition of his dipping in the Styx, but if Paris is pointing the arrow at the back leg, as most commentators suppose, then the wound will be too high to be in accord with the Styx-dipping.[18] An Attic red-figure vase from the fifth century BCE shows an arrow falling downward toward the lower leg of a warrior standing on the right.[19] Shot by an archer on the left, it is apparently guided by a figure standing in the middle: perhaps Paris is shooting Achilles with Apollo's help. A uniquely vulnerable location is not necessarily assumed, however, for the attacker has strung a second arrow and is about to shoot. Perhaps we see one arrow represented at two moments (Kunisch 1989:19), or perhaps the image suggests that there will be a second arrow wound, just as on the Chalkidian vase. A number of Etruscan and Roman gems from the Hellenistic Age show a lone warrior kneeling on the ground, sometimes with an arrow stuck in his heel, in the back or front of his ankle, or in his foot.[20] Undoubtedly the schema depicts Achilles, and there are also Hellenistic gems that depict the common schema of Ajax carrying the corpse of Achilles, sometimes with an arrow stuck in Achilles' heel, ankle, or foot.[21] It is possible that these depictions presuppose the story of Achilles' heel (i.e., unique vulnerability), as later Roman iconography sometimes does.[22]

The concept of Achilles' imperfect invulnerability was apparently not known in early Greek myth, but in both early literature and art a lower leg wound to Achilles is emphasized. Some explanations do not necessitate unique vulnerability. It has long been suggested that Achilles' armor was invulnerable in pre-Homeric tradition.[23] If so, Achilles might be killed when struck in an unprotected area. It is not clear, however, why a wound in a lower spot not protected by invulnerable armor would be mortal. Diomedes survives a wound to the foot in *Iliad* book 11 (a possible reflection of the "Achilles' heel" story; see chapter 5), though Achilles slowly dies from a wound to his ankle in Quintus of Smyrna 3.61–179. Gantz (1993:626–627) speculated that Achilles had his life spirit concentrated in an unusual location, a motif that is familiar in myth and folklore. Poison has also been suspected as the main cause of death.[24]

These fascinating suggestions may explain some versions of Achilles' death, but they do not account for the evidence (most strongly on the Chalkidian vase) that there was more than one wound. A likely solution is that an initial lower wound served to slow down the famously swift-footed hero before he was finished off by a second wound.[25] Swiftness of foot, of course, is stressed in Homeric formulae for the hero. Much more than ornamental, the descriptive epithet reflects an essential aspect of myth about Achilles.[26] The hero was thought to be

Achilles pursuing Troilos. Black-figure hydria, mid-sixth century CE. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 89.561. Everett Fund. Photograph copyright 2009 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

supernaturally swift from childhood. Many stories feature the hero's speed, notably his pursuit of a horse-bound Troilos on foot. The *Iliad* portrays his speed in pursuit of others (Apollo, *Il.* 21.599–601, 22.7–24; Hektor, *Il.* 22.136–166) and refers to earlier pursuits in the war. In book 20 Achilles recalls that he almost caught Aeneas by foot among the herds (89–93, 188–190), a story told by the *Kypria* (Proklos). Similar is the killing of Andromache's brothers by Achilles among the herds (6.421–424); presumably they could not outrun Achilles. Even in the afterlife, Achilles is still running: one ritual location for his Black Sea cult (see chapter 8) was known as the "racecourse of Achilles." It would not be surprising, then, if the motif of Achilles' heel once had more to do with the hero's famed swiftness than with invulnerability.

Once this is realized, it becomes apparent that the Styx-dipping story, as opposed to early Greek traditions involving destructive fire or water, is predicated upon a variant version of Achilles' death. In this variant (thought to be in existence by the Hellenistic Age, though certain evidence is later), Achilles is ambushed in the temple of Thymbraian Apollo, where he has gone to marry Polyxena.[27] Here Achilles is not mobile, but rather stationary, and so becomes a sitting duck for the arrow of Paris. As a result, the early immobilizing lower wound had to be conceived in a new way. The story of the Styx-dipping would have sufficed; with this story, the lower location becomes the only vulnerable spot on Achilles.

The Roman story of Achilles' heel may be innovative, but it is thematically linked with earlier traditions about Thetis and the infant Achilles that also feature her concern over his mortality. In some early Greek traditions, she attempts to make him immortal, perhaps motivated by knowledge of his destined early death. A number of other tales from the early life of Achilles involve Thetis trying to prevent the death of Achilles. Most of the tales are not as well known as "Achilles' heel," and the evidence for them is often scarce. A survey of the relevant episodes, though, demonstrates their thematic continuity.

In one tradition, Thetis hid Achilles at Skyros dressed as a female when he came of age.[28] She thought that the Greeks, actively recruiting an army to attack Troy, would never discover him there. Because of the wiliness of Odysseus, that plan failed, and Achilles was only too happy to join the expedition. Again, an attempt by Thetis to thwart his destiny fails. This transvestite story may not go back into the Archaic Age (Heslin 2005:202–205), and it may seem incompatible with accounts of Thetis seeing her son off before the war. It would be quite possible to argue that it is compatible, for the transvestite tale does not preclude Achilles' departure from Phthia after discovery (nor is the presence of Thetis at Phthia

inconsistent with her departure from Peleus; see chapter 3). My purpose here, though, is not to re-create the sequence of pre-Homeric myth about Achilles, but rather to establish the prevalence of a theme that in some form must be pre-Homeric: Thetis's attempts to act on her knowledge of her son's fate.

In the *Iliad,* Thetis claims she saw him off (18.439–440) after giving him gifts (16.222–224). Some evidence, notably vase iconography, suggests that in non-Homeric accounts Thetis presented Achilles with divine, invulnerable armor before the war.[29] Such a scene would be thematically consistent with myth about Achilles. Thetis again attempts to forestall Achilles' fate, this time by means of a gift of invulnerable armor at his departure. This theme is much faded in the Homeric portrayal of Thetis acquiring armor for Achilles from Hephaistos ten years into the war, for the poem is less interested in the function of the Hephaistian panoply than in the symbolic implications of both sets of divine armor. Achilles lent his first set to Patroklos, who reflects the greater hero (chapter 5). Patroklos in turn lost it to Hektor, who wears it when he opposes Achilles in his new armor. The poem goes out of its way to create this hall of mirrors, which besides being fascinating in itself provides opportunity to muse upon the nature of mortality.[30] Besides setting up such profundities, Thetis's bestowal of divine armor to her son in the *Iliad* also analeptically alludes to the Phthia armoring episode (as opposed to "borrowing" the motif from the story of Memnon; see chapter 2). The Homeric manifestation of the motif is ironic, for Thetis has now resigned herself to the death against which the armor should protect. Even Hephaistos, the creator of the armor, holds no illusions as to its ability to prevent the hero's fate (18. 464–467).

That Thetis never had much hope of preventing her son's death may be indicated by another of her gifts to Achilles, perhaps at the same time: the golden amphora in which he would be buried. The gift is reported by the shade of Agamemnon in his description of Achilles' funeral at *Odyssey* 24.73–79.[31] At *Iliad* 23.91 the shade of Patroklos requests of Achilles that the two of them be buried together in a σορός, which line 92 identifies as a golden amphora received from Thetis. Some have suspected line 92 as an interpolation designed to link the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* among the objections is that it would be an ill-omened gift.[32] A differently worded quotation of this passage by Aischines (*In Tim.* 149), however, provides a relatively early, if multiform, confirmation of the amphora's presence in the *Iliad* (Dué 2001).

In the *Odyssey* it is not clear when Thetis gives the amphora to the Greeks. At Quintus of Smyrna 3.736–739 Thetis apparently gives the amphora at the moment the ashes of Achilles have been gathered. On the other hand, δῶκε at

Odyssey 24.73 could be considered a pluperfect, referring to a presentation of the amphora by Thetis at some time in the past (Pestalozzi 1945:29). There is also some evidence for a tradition in which Thetis first received the golden amphora from Dionysos at her wedding celebration.[33] The amphora's ultimate purpose may have been understood from the start (Crielaard 2002:251). Achilles' departure from Phthia before the war would be a likely time for the bestowal of the golden amphora, along with divine armor—a mixed message that would reflect the helpless agitation of Thetis concerning her son's fate.

In book 9 of the *Iliad,* Achilles reports that Thetis has told him of a choice of fates, either to return home and live long or to stay at Troy and die young (discussed in chapter 3). This choice must have been made before Achilles left for the war, and in early tradition Thetis may have offered Achilles a choice of fates at around the time when he left Phthia to join the Greek army.[34] It would not be surprising if in some narratives Thetis tried to persuade Achilles to stay at Phthia with an argument that presented the possibility of living a long life at home. To her dismay, Achilles would choose to go to Troy and die young, and Thetis would again fail to prevent the unfolding of her son's fated early death.

Protesilaos ("First-leaper") was the first to jump to shore when the Greeks arrived at Troy; as a result, he was immediately killed. This tale is undoubtedly pre-Homeric, because the *Iliad* refers to the episode (in the catalog of ships, *Il.* 2. 698–703). Some versions include an oracle that stated that the first to go ashore would be killed, and Apollodoros reports (*Epit.* 3.29) that Thetis warned Achilles not to leap ashore first.[35] Whatever the date of this story, it repeats the common theme of Thetis trying to prevent the death of Achilles. Here Thetis is successful; Achilles does not leap ashore and so does not die immediately.

Nonetheless, his eventual death at Troy awaits. In another tale, a warning by Thetis goes unheeded. At the beginning of the war, she told Achilles that if he killed Tenes, Apollo would slay him (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.26). The reason behind Thetis's concern was probably that Tenes, a reputed son of Kyknos, was actually a son of Apollo (schol. *ad* Lykoph. 232). The story would serve to explain Apollo's motivation in eventually killing Achilles. The slaying of Troilos sometimes provided a similar motivation, either because Troilos was killed at Apollo's altar or because he was the son of Apollo (schol. *ad* Lykoph. 307–13; Apollod. *Epit.* 3.12.5).[36]

All these stories have a common theme: Thetis tries to prevent an early death of Achilles at Troy. It would seem that her obsessive concern results from prophetic knowledge of the destiny of Achilles. How does Thetis know of Achilles' fate? In some accounts, Thetis receives information about her son's fate from another source. The wedding of Peleus and Thetis provided one venue for prophecy

about Achilles' fate. In a fragment of Aeschylus (350 Radt; Pl. *Rep.* 383a–b), Thetis complains that Apollo actually misled her then with prophecy of a long and happy future for her son. Because otherwise in early traditions Thetis is fully aware of Achilles' fate, the concept is probably an innovation by Aeschylus, reflecting contemporary concerns (Burgess 2004c). A passage in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis* also reports prophecy of Achilles' future at the wedding, this time by Cheiron (1062–1075). Cheiron was often thought to have prophetic abilities, and it is implied that on this occasion he spoke with special knowledge received from Apollo. Yet, though he describes the future prowess of Achilles, he makes no mention his death. Other evidence about a possible prophecy at the wedding is too inconclusive to be informative (see Burgess 2004c:25–26).

One might surmise that Thetis knew of Achilles' future through Zeus. The *Iliad* suggests as much: Achilles states at 17.408–409 that she has repeatedly told him the νόημα of Zeus, and Nestor implies to Patroklos at 11.794–795 that Achilles has received a prophecy from Thetis that ultimately came from Zeus. There was a general complex of myth surrounding Thetis, Zeus, and Achilles (Slatkin 1991), as demonstrated in *Iliad* book 1 when Achilles' recalls the rescue of Zeus by Thetis; Thetis subsequently visits Zeus on behalf of Achilles. It is certainly conceivable that in some accounts she might have received privileged information about Achilles from Zeus.

Of course, Thetis may simply know the future because she is divine (Thetis knows everything, Achilles says at 1.365). In the *Iliad,* many gods seem to know of Achilles' coming fate, including Hephaistos, Hera, and Poseidon (see chapter 3). Some of their remarks might refer only to Achilles' mortality in general, but their tone suggests that Achilles' early death is at issue. Conceivably this information would be general knowledge among the gods (even the divine horse Xanthos at 19.416–417 knows of his master's fated early death). Sea divinities like Thetis were thought of as especially prophetic in early Greek mythology (M. West 1966:233), and so it is no surprise that Thetis has foreknowledge of her son's fate.

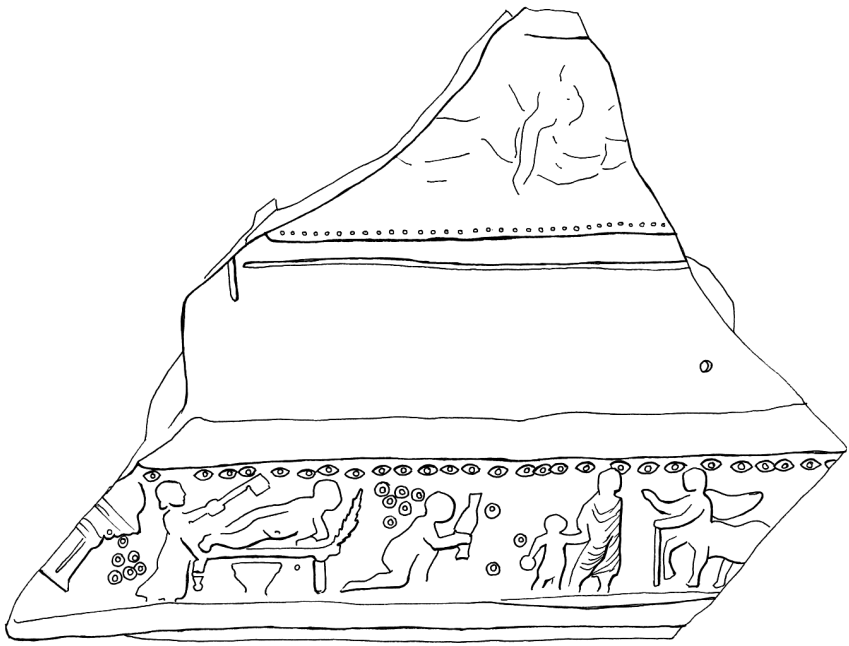
When would Thetis have told Achilles of his fate? The Homeric poem never refers to a single, definitive prophecy from Thetis to Achilles; instead, it seems that the two are engaged in a never-ending conversation about Achilles' future. We might suspect that this situation was treated differently in non-Homeric narrative, with Thetis foretelling the future to Achilles on a momentous occasion earlier in his life. Dramatic prophecies were characteristic of the Epic Cycle, in contradistinction to the Homeric poems.[37] The summary of the Epic Cycle by Proklos gives no indication of a prophecy from Thetis to Achilles, except perhaps in the *Aithiopis,* just before Achilles' fateful meeting with Memnon. Thetis then

tells Achilles "things about Memnon" shortly after the arrival of the Aithiopian king: καὶ θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει (Proklos). She may have simply told him about the hero, or she may have told him that his fated death would follow soon after the death of Memnon (reflected by a passage in *Iliad* 18, according to neoanalysts; see chapter 5). If in traditional myth Thetis warned Achilles that his death would follow Memnon's, then she apparently was trying once again to turn Achilles from his destiny (in the neoanalyst reconstruction, for which there is no evidence, Achilles actually withdraws from battle for a time). Achilles did not listen and once again Thetis would have failed to prevent his fate.

The possible prophecy of the *Aithiopis* would not be the first time she had discussed his fate with him. It is assumed throughout the *Iliad* that Thetis told the hero of his fate long ago (chapter 3), and the bestowal of armor to Achilles at Phthia before the war would have presented an ideal occasion for prophecy. Foreknowledge of Achilles' fate by Thetis is a fundamental theme that generated much of the traditional narrative about Achilles: she knows of his early death and repeatedly tries to prevent it.

The preceding discussion explores the thematic connections between various stories about the early life of Achilles. There is no attempt to reconstruct the story of Achilles' life, however, in recognition of the scarcity of surviving literary evidence. Yet iconographical evidence suggests that there must have been a coherent conception of Achilles' biography at an early date. Comprehensive accounts of Achilles' life, especially his childhood, certainly did exist by later antiquity, when an Achilles "cycle" of sequential iconographical scenes in the hero's life became common on various types of artifacts.[38] The iconographical "cycle" focused in particular on the raising of Achilles by Cheiron. This theme appeared very early in Greek art and later became greatly expanded and systematized, serving as a metaphor for aristocratic and Hellenistic pedagogic ideals. The Achilles iconographical "cycle" of late antiquity reflects new developments in Achilles mythology and is probably influenced by specific instances of post-Classical literature (Statius's incomplete *Achilleid* or an earlier Hellenistic poem has been suspected).[39] Yet later developments in the iconographical tradition were often extensions of earlier themes (as seems to be case with the training of Achilles by Cheiron). Even at an early date, iconographic evidence implies interconnections between episodes in the life of Achilles, suggesting that an Achilles narrative "cycle" of some sort must have been known.

A brief survey of a few notable artifacts leads to this conclusion. A votive terracotta shield in Nauplion from the early Archaic Age shows a centaur with a



Scenes from the early life of Achilles, including the dipping of Achilles in the Styx (?, *middle*) and Achilles being led to Cheiron (*right*). Terracotta platter, late antiquity. Athens, Benaki Museum. Illustration by Melinda Barnadas.

fawn hanging from a branch on one side and a warrior fighting an Amazon (Penthesileia?) on the other.[40] The warrior is often thought to represent Achilles, and if so, the two sides of the shield effectively emphasize the thematic link between Cheiron's raising of Achilles and his later military success.[41] Robbins (1993) emphasizes the importance of the training of Achilles by Cheiron, noting that the centaur whose name is etymologically linked to the "hand" was famed in myth for teaching skills of the hand to young heroes such as Achilles. Primary among these skills is hunting, and by extension, killing. In some accounts the young Achilles fed on still-living animals to gain courage and speed. The literary testimony for this concept is rather late (though Pindar may allude to it), but it is already implied by a vase in Berlin from the early seventh century that shows Cheiron with game when receiving Achilles.[42]

The famous François vase from the early sixth century BCE also assumes coherent themes in the life of Achilles, according to the analysis by Stewart (1983).

Central to Stewart's interpretation is the identification of the amphora that Dionysos carries to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis as the golden amphora later used as an urn for the bones of Achilles (see chapter 7). Whether or not that intriguing possibility is correct, there is definitely an Achilles theme running through the rest of the vase's iconography. He is shown pursuing Troilos, and he oversees the funeral games for Patroklos; as well, Ajax carries his corpse beneath both handles. More indirectly, the wedding scene of Peleus and Thetis implies Achilles' subsequent birth. As a prologue to the extraordinary wedding of a mortal to a divinity, we see Peleus earning his heroic status in the Kalydonian boar hunt. Achilles' future tutor Cheiron attends the wedding as well, sporting a branch bedecked with slain animals. The iconography of Cheiron signifies Achilles' future abilities in swiftness and killing, as noted above, and the branch

Achilles putting on armor, with Thetis, Peleus, and Neoptolemos. Lydos plate, mid-sixth century BCE. Athens, National Museum 507. Image courtesy of the National Museum of Athens.

might be equated with Achilles' famous Pelian ash spear (Stewart 1983:64–65). It may be too much of a strain to conceive of other scenes featuring Theseus and Hephaistos as "analogues" or "inversions" of myth about Achilles (Stewart 1983:68), but the centrality of Achilles in the iconography of this exceptional vase is apparent. Especially emphasized is the hero's destined death: Achilles' future killer, Apollo, gazes at the death of Troilos in anger; the corpse of Achilles is twice depicted being carried by Ajax; and a potential funeral urn is depicted in Dionysos's amphora. Achilles does not just happen to appear in a number of

Achilles receiving armor from Thetis (?). Bronze relief on Etruscan chariot, second half of the sixth century BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.1). Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

mythological scenes splashed across the vase haphazardly. The aggregation of these episodes reflects a thematically unified conception of the life of Achilles.

A remarkable plate by Lydos from the mid-sixth century has four inscribed figures: Peleus, Achilles, Thetis, and Neoptolemos.[43] Achilles is putting on his greaves, and the presence of Peleus indicates that this is an arming scene at Phthia. Neoptolemos, born to Deidameia of Skyros, is not present at the *Iliad*'s arming scene, of course, but he should not be at the Phthia arming scene either—for he would then apparently not even have been born. Friis Johansen (1967:113) saw here carelessness on the part of Lydos, but Scaife (1995:183–184) more insightfully considers the scene temporally synoptic, looking back to Achilles' origins (Peleus), pointing forward to the impending birth of his son (Neoptolemos), and looking beyond to the hero's Trojan battles and eventual death (the armor). Thetis evokes Achilles' mixed parentage of divine and mortal, whereas the whole tableau emphasizes the three generations of the heroic line. This attractive interpretation suggests the manner in which an Archaic Age painter could be informed by a strong sense of Achilles' biographical story.

An Etruscan chariot from Monteleone dated to the second half of the sixth century has attracted much recent attention: it is featured in the Metropolitan Museum's recently renovated classical galleries, and the villagers of Monteleone have very publicly demanded its return. Of immediate interest to us are its bronze reliefs, which seem to depict various scenes from the life of Achilles.[44] A central tableau depicts a woman and a man with a shield between them, reminiscent of iconography typical in scenes of Achilles receiving armor from Thetis. In a scene to the left of this, a warrior is represented stabbing another warrior over a corpse, similar to representations of the duel between Achilles and Memnon.[45] Another scene to the right depicts a man driving a chariot with winged horses over a fallen woman, possibly signifying Achilles' vanquishing of the Amazon Penthesileia (though neither figure wears armor).[46] In addition, a small frieze below may depict Cheiron with the young Achilles manhandling a panther (a winged figure is also discernible in the fragmented gap between the two). Again, the combination of Cheiron's hunting tutelage and later battle scenes in the life of Achilles is suggestive (a dead fawn appears in the arming scene). Interpretation of the chariot's iconography has long been controversial, with good reason; there are no inscriptions, and the significance of Greek myth for Etruscan viewers is not readily fathomed. Yet it is hard to deny that here is some sort of Achilles "cycle" that extends from the hero's childhood to his afterlife.

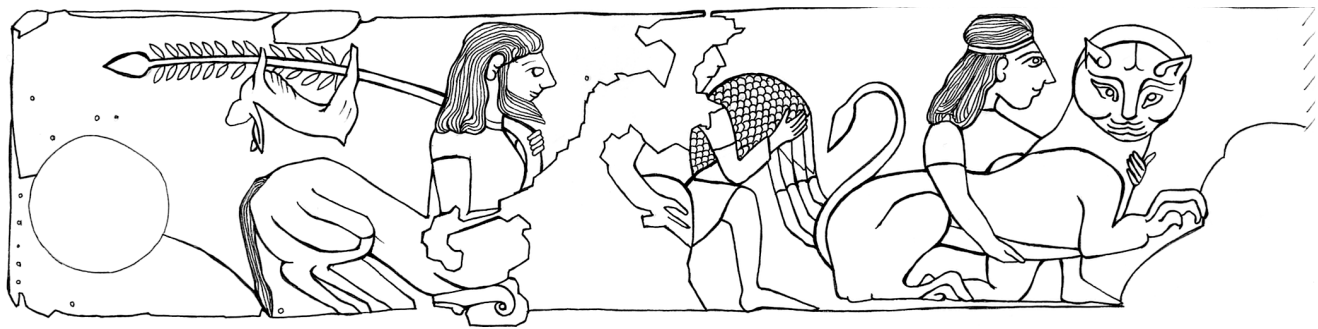
The Achilles cycle also seems present in four golden *gorytoi* (bow covers) of

Achilles dueling Memnon (?). Bronze relief on Etruscan chariot, second half of the sixth century BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.1). Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

apparently Greek craftsmanship found in Skythian tombs in the fourth century BCE.[47] It has long been thought that the discovery of Achilles at Skyros is featured in the central panels, with earlier and later scenes from the life of Achilles also possible, from childhood training (archery) to death (Thetis with an urn containing his ashes?). Here as well the interpretation is controversial, and the meaning and use for the non-Greek consumer is once again a difficult (if fascinating) issue. Yet the Achilles interpretation seems to be the most plausible one, and so these artifacts may also be prototypes of the iconographical Achilles "cycle" that was common in later antiquity.

Achilles driving chariot over female (?). Bronze relief on Etruscan chariot, second half of the sixth century BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1903 (03.23.1). Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

This iconographical evidence suggests that Achilles' biographical story was understood as a unity at an early date. Despite the lack of surviving literary evidence, a thematic approach demonstrated that causality and temporal cohesion existed between various episodes in Achilles' early life. In the next chapter, we examine the narrative to which the tales of Achilles' early life lead: the death of Achilles.



Cheiron and hunting Achilles (?). Bronze relief on Etruscan chariot, second half of the sixth century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum 03.23.1. Illustration by Melinda Barnadas.

The Death of Achilles

In the previous chapter, rather than proposing a pre-Homeric version of the early life of Achilles, I employed a thematic exploration of the various tales of his youth that survive. The greater amount of evidence for the death of Achilles encourages a bolder approach, although I do not aim to reconstitute a lost poem (such as the *Aithiopis*) or any specific account of Achilles' death. I remain rather cautious about details of the story, at least in comparison to work of neoanalysts. In narratological terms, I am describing a *fabula,* the notional narrative of a chronological series of actions.[1] The *fabula* of the death of Achilles has none of the artistry, significance, or authenticity of actual manifestations of the story. It indicates the recurring fundamental motifs that regularly unfolded in a certain sequence when the traditional tale of Achilles' death was narrated. One might compare Propp's influential reduction of narrative to a series of motifs, though Propp established typical elements in Russian folktale, whereas I am concerned with the motifs that recur in traditional myth of a specific figure.[2]

The *fabula* of the death of Achilles features Memnon as an opponent of Achilles, and his divine mother Eos. Memnon is king of the Aithiopians, and he travels to Troy with an army to defend the city. The mythical Aithiopians would seemingly be located in the East, where Memnon's dawn goddess mother rises, yet they were also associated with Africa and Egypt, probably if not conclusively at a later date.[3] Following neoanalyst theory, I consider Memnon a pre-Homeric character. This cannot be proved, of course, but the weight of the evidence is impressive. In the *Iliad* it is known that Eos had married Tithonos (*Il.* 11.1 = *Od.* 5.1), and that Tithonos was the brother of Priam (*Il.* 20.237). Memnon is thus the nephew of Priam, which explains his willingness to defend Troy. That Memnon himself is not mentioned in the *Iliad* should cause no surprise.[4] The arrival of Memnon in Troy is a future event that occurs after the end of the *Iliad,* and it is not predicted in the course of the poem (though Memnon's battle with Achilles seems to inspire much indirect allusion, as discussed in chapter 5). From the perspective of the *Odyssey,* the exploits of Memnon at Troy are quite well known.

Odysseus mentions that Memnon was the most handsome man he has seen (11.522), and it is reported that the "son of Eos" killed Antilochos (4.188).

The testimony of the *Odyssey* should be enough to prove the pre-Homeric nature of Memnon (unless one prefers the rather old-fashioned idea that the *Odyssey* as the younger of the Homeric poems became corrupted by new, cyclic myth; see Burgess 2001a:48). Hesiod also refers to Memnon and Eos at *Theogony* 984–985 (in a portion of the poem, describing the union of goddesses and mortals, which is also sometimes deemed "late," as in West 1966:398ff.). Memnon is described as χαλκοκορυστής (armed with bronze), an adjective that is unremarkable in early epic, but it may allude to the Hephaistian armor that Memnon wore to Troy (*Aithiopis,* Proklos). The fame of Memnon's armor in antiquity is indicated by such passages as *Aeneid* 1.751, where Dido eagerly asks Aeneas about it.[5]

Achilles and Memnon mirror each other in certain respects, then. Each has a divine mother and each a set of armor created by Hephaistos. Priority has been sought for these correspondences, or at least the Hephaistian armor. The older view, recently revived by M. West (2003:4), grants priority to Achilles, but the neoanalyst perspective has now convinced many that priority belongs to Memnon.[6] My view is that a divine mother and divine armor are too typological for priority to be sought. It is likely, however, that the polarity of Achilles and to Memnon was recognized and developed over a period of time, whatever the origins of these figures and their characteristics. The *Iliad* does seem to have invented the idea of Achilles receiving a second set of divine armor while at Troy; the set he received at Phthia before the war should have sufficed (see chapter 1). By inventing this second set of armor for Achilles, the *Iliad* is able to transfer from the *fabula* of the death of Achilles the motif of two heroes with divine armor battling each other. When Hektor faces Achilles, he wears Achilles' first set of divine armor, which he acquired when he stripped it off Patroklos, and Achilles wears a new set obtained from Hephaistos through the services of Thetis. The Homeric poem has gone to great trouble to arrange the polarity of armor in this duel, probably in reflection of the Achilles *fabula* (much else of poetic significance is achieved by the two sets in the *Iliad,* as well as an analeptic reference to the armoring at Phthia; see chapter 1).

References to Eos and Memnon in Homeric and Hesiodic poetry indicate that they had a firm presence in early Greek myth. Eos is probably of Proto-Indo-European heritage, akin to such figures as the Indic Uṣas.[7] The Indo-European dawn goddess characteristically marries a mortal and protects a semidivine son. These are qualities of Thetis as well, and correspondences between Eos/Memnon and Thetis/Achilles are probably of great antiquity. It is not advisable to assign

priority to either pair, but if one were forced to guess, precedence would have to be granted to the dawn goddess and her Aithiopian son. In this study, it is assumed that Eos and Memnon are deeply rooted in pre-Homeric tradition and that the two pairs of mother and son developed as counterparts to each other early on in myth about the Trojan War.

Traditionally Achilles kills Memnon in battle shortly before his own death in front of the Trojan walls, followed by a magnificent funeral. The most complete surviving accounts of these episodes are the summary of the *Aithiopis* by Proklos, a similar epitome by Apollodoros (*Epit.* 5.3–5), and Quintus of Smyrna, books 2–4. Pindar provides further useful testimony, as do numerous artistic representations. Although some images potentially featuring Memnon are probably at least contemporaneous with the *Iliad,* iconography of Memnon first became a popular subject in the sixth century BCE. The iconographical evidence provides no measure of the date of mythopoetic material, as there is often a temporal discrepancy between textual and iconographic evidence for traditional Greek narrative.[8] Oral mythological traditions do not require manifestation in either image or text in order to exist and be well known, and the survival of their recording in any media is usually happenstance. It is significant that cyclic iconography tends to precede Homeric images, for this casts doubt on the influence of the Homeric poems (Burgess 2001a). Those quick to assume that Memnon is post-Homeric should also note that representations of the duel between Achilles and Hektor do not precede those of Achilles and Memnon; in fact, images of Hektor fighting Achilles are rare even in the sixth century, and are often non-Homeric at that.[9]

With the evidence of art and literature, amplified by any other testimony that may be relevant, a series of motifs in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles can be established. The following list of motifs, labeled by letter, will assist the later exploration of how the *Iliad* reflects the *fabula.* Because the Homeric poems are occasionally used for evidence in my reconstruction, I recognize the danger of circularity in this endeavor. The reconstruction, though, makes apparent that there is much non-Homeric evidence for the *fabula,* which cannot be described as simply Homer-derived; in later chapters, it will become evident that Homeric poetry assumes the *fabula* to be preexisting and well-known. The *fabula* is not *the* story of the death of Achilles but rather a composite of evidence from art and literature that outlines the narrative as it would have been commonly understood in the Archaic Age. The *fabula* as a whole can be summarized as follows: Achilles meets Memnon in battle and kills him, then attacks Troy and is killed by Apollo and Paris. The divine mothers Thetis and Eos are present and obtain a special af-

terlife for their sons after they are slain. For convenience of reference, the eight motifs of the *fabula* are listed in the appendix.

A. *Memnon arrives to defend Troy; before battle Thetis predicts to Achilles that he will die shortly after Memnon's death.*
MAIN SOURCES: *Aithiopis* (Proklos), Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.3, Quintus of Smyrna 2.26–242.

After Proklos reports the arrival of Memnon, he adds, καὶ Θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ Μέμνονα προλέγει (and Thetis foretells to her son things concerning Memnon). Unfortunately, the summary by Proklos does not provide us with further details about her words, and there is no other testimony. Neoanalysts, following Welcker, are probably correct to surmise that more than an announcement of Memnon's arrival is implied.[10] The wording suggests a prediction; Thetis presumably warned Achilles about his own death. She would have either known that the death of her son was linked by fate with the death of Memnon, or suspected that the battle would provide an opportunity for his destined death to occur. But the vague reference by Proklos is the only evidence of the incident.

Achilles duels Memnon (?). Melian amphora, first half of seventh century BCE. Athens, National Museum 911. Photograph by the author.

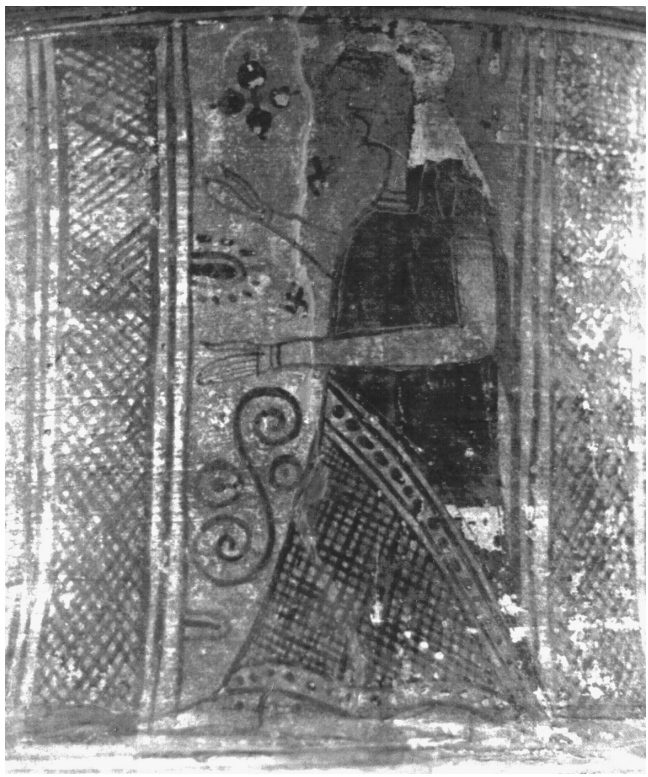
B. *Achilles duels with Memnon, who has killed Antilochos, and kills him; divine scales are used to signify the outcome.*

MAIN SOURCES: *Odyssey* 3.109–112, 4.187–188; *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Pindar *Pythian* 6.28–42; Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.3; Quintus of Smyrna 2.243–548.

The duel was popular with artists from at least the sixth century onward.[11]

Nestor in *Odyssey* book 3 includes his son Antilochos in a brief list of those who died at Troy. In book 4 Peisistratos weeps at the memory of the death of his brother Antilochos, whom the poet explains had met his fate at the hands of the "son of Dawn." Proklos in his summary of the *Aithiopis* briefly notes that Mem-

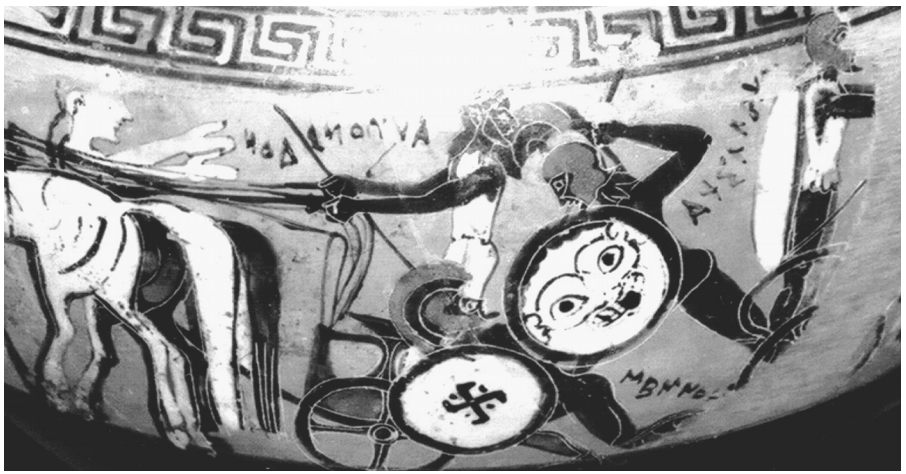
Thetis observes duel of Achilles and Memnon (?). Melian amphora, first half of seventh century BCE. Athens, National Museum 911. Photograph by the author.



Eos observes duel of Achilles and Memnon (?). Melian amphora, first half of seventh century BCE. Athens, National Museum 911. Photograph by the author.

non killed Antilochos. Pindar gives a more complete picture of this story: Nestor's chariot becomes disabled, and the life of the old man is saved by the intervention of his son, who is then killed by Memnon. Apollodoros does not tell us much more than that, though it is reported that Memnon killed many Greeks, not just Antilochos. In his second book, Quintus of Smyrna provides a dramatic account of the story found in Pindar; as in Apollodoros, the death of Antilochos is one of many deaths caused by Memnon.

Only one certain iconographic scene shows Antilochos fighting Memnon, an illustration of the *Aithiopis* depicted on an Iliac plaque.[12] Sometimes, but not always, Antilochos appears as a corpse on the ground between Achilles and Memnon (*LIMC,* "Antilochos I," nos. 27–32). Such artistic representations imply that Achilles attacked Memnon immediately after the death of Antilochos, as does

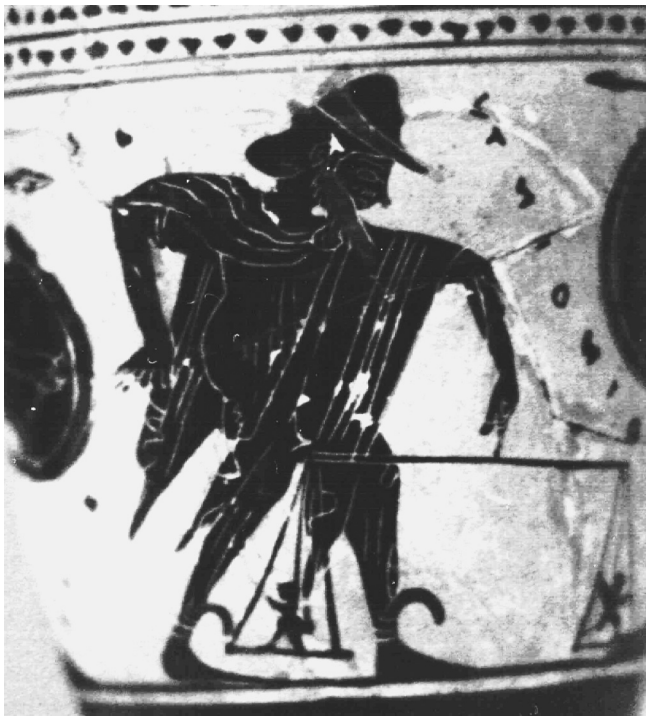


Achilles duels Memnon. Black-figure hydria, first half of seventh century BCE. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum 48.2230. Photograph by the author.

the run of the narrative in Proklos and Apollodoros. In a few imaginative late sources, there is a delay between the death of Antilochos and Achilles' attack on Memnon.[13]

The literary sources seldom give much detail about the duel between Achilles and Memnon, and usually the encounter is mentioned only briefly. Quintus of Smyrna provides a lengthy version of it that seems to be greatly embellished. It is specified that they met on foot both in Quintus and Pindar (*Nemean* ode 6.49–53, the longest mention of the encounter by Pindar);[14] the scene is always so represented by iconography. Numerous representations of the duel in the sixth century provide further details. A likely depiction appears on a seventh-century amphora from Melos that shows two warriors flanked by women, a schema employed in representations of Achilles and Memnon dueling.[15] In later iconography Thetis and Eos often stand behind their battling sons, and sometimes charioteers await the warriors on each side.

Artists also commonly depicted divine scales to signal the outcome of the duel.[16] This scene is sometimes represented on the same artifact on which the duel is represented. The two scenes can even be combined, as when the scales are held between the fighting warriors. On some vase paintings, the divine mothers plead with Zeus for the lives of their sons. On others, the mothers anxiously watch the divine scales or rush away after the outcome has been indicated, Eos in distress and Thetis triumphant. Though this scene was popular in iconography, it is



Hermes and scales. Black-figure vase, early fifth century BCE. London, British Museum B 639. Photograph by the author.

rarely found in our literary sources. There are some dim reflections of it in Quintus of Smyrna, and the lost *Psychostasia* by Aeschylus featured the scene.[17] It is not mentioned in the summary by Proklos of the *Aithiopis* of the Epic Cycle, though on the basis of iconography it is often assumed that the *Aithiopis* contained the motif. The *Iliad* employs divine scales a few times, notably to signal the outcome of the duel between Achilles and Hektor in book 22.[18] Whereas the Homeric motif involved the weighing of *keres,* or fates, and thus technically is a *kerostasia,* the title of the lost *Psychostasia* by Aeschylus indicates that here the souls of the two heroes were weighed. It is not necessarily clear whether artists were depicting *keres* or *psychai* in their representations of divine scales. Hermes is shown holding the scales, though in Aeschylus Zeus performed this function (as he does when divine scales are used in the *Iliad*). Despite this variability in detail, it is clear that the motif of divine scales was an important part of the encounter between Achilles and Memnon in mythological tradition.

C. *Eos requests a special afterlife for Memnon; his corpse is removed from the field by divine intervention and buried.*

MAIN SOURCES: *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Quintus of Smyrna 2.550–655. A number of artifacts depict Memnon's corpse being handled by Aithiopians, Eos, or Sleep and Death.[19]

Proklos reports that in the *Aithiopis* Eos obtained permission from Zeus to give her son ἀθανασία (immortality).[20] Apollodoros does not state what happens to Memnon. In Quintus of Smyrna, the winds bear the corpse of Memnon to the banks of the river Aisepos, where he is mourned by Eos. Eventually the Aithiopians bury Memnon, and Quintus rather vaguely adds that he enjoys an afterlife in Hades or in Elysion. There is little interest in our sources about where precisely Memnon would enjoy this afterlife, perhaps because he was not Greek.[21]

Eos with the body of Memnon. Red-figure cup, early fifth century BCE. Paris, Louvre Museum G115. Image copyright Art Resource.

Sleep and Death with corpse (Memnon?). Amphora (obverse), ca. 500 BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.25). Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

It is clear that there was much variety between different versions, as well as many elliptical accounts. A special afterlife was sometimes specified for Memnon, though he was thought to have a gravesite in the East or in the Troad.[22] It should not be assumed, however, that burial and immortality were mutually exclusive. Memnon's ἀθανασία (*Aithiopis,* Proklos) could potentially have involved immortalization after the burning and burial of his body.

The iconographical evidence features a variety of agents (Aithiopians, Eos, and Sleep and Death) handling the dead Memnon. Either there are variants of the story or different agents perform different functions at different times. The func-

Eos flies with the body of Memnon. Amphora (reverse), ca. 500 BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1956 (56.171.25). Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

tions could include removing the corpse from the field of battle, attending to the body, mourning over the corpse, taking the corpse eastward to a place of burial, and translating it to a place of immortality. Sometimes the background of the pictures identifies the location as Troy, but some scenes may portray funerary activity elsewhere. It is impossible to determine with certainty the location and temporal sequence of the scenes.[23]

Only one vase scene shows Aithiopians handling the corpse of Memnon.[24] Sometimes an unidentified corpse in the hands of Thanatos and Hypnos has been considered to represent Memnon; at times a female is also present, who is

accordingly considered to be Eos. However, interpretation of these vases has been controversial because inscriptions are usually absent and the iconography of Eos is uncertain; Sarpedon and Europe could possibly be the corpse and female. At least one Greek vase does depict Thanatos, Hypnos, and Eos with the corpse of Memnon, as do Etruscan gems (see chapter 4).[25] More frequently Eos is shown with the body of her son without Sleep and Death. Some vases show her with the body of her son on the ground, and others show Eos carrying it while flying through the air.[26]

D. *Immediately after killing Memnon, Achilles routs the Trojans and attacks Troy.*
MAIN SOURCES: *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.3; Quintus of Smyrna 3.1–29.

Proklos and Apollodoros report that Achilles routed the Trojans, chasing them as far as the walls of Troy. These sources imply the rout occurred immediately after the death of Memnon. Quintus of Smyrna, who typically expands traditional tales, has Achilles wait until the day after Memnon's death before attacking. It is not apparent that the rout is depicted in early art, though some possible scenes of the death of Achilles feature multiple warriors. One scene seems to depict Paris shooting at Achilles while Achilles chases another man.[27] That Achilles reached the city of Troy is implied by the usual place of his death, the walls of Troy.

E. *Achilles is killed by Apollo and Paris by bow at the walls of Troy.*
MAIN SOURCES: *Iliad* 19.416–417, 21.277–278, 23.80–81; *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Pindar *Paian* 6.78–86; Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.3; Quintus of Smyrna 3.30–185.
The rare artistic representations depict Paris and occasionally Apollo at the death scene.[28]

The *Iliad* looks forward to three aspects of the death of Achilles: the walls of Troy or the Skaian gates as the place, Paris and Apollo as the agents, and the bow as the weapon (see chapter 3). These details may seem arbitrary, but are probably rooted deeply in traditional myth. Apollo was thought to be angered by Achilles' slaying of Troilos. A divinity associated with the bow naturally works through the Trojan most associated with this weapon, and defeat of the best of the Achaians by a Trojan of suspect bravery provides an ironic touch. Achilles' death at the walls might also have a link to the Greek story that Apollo was involved in their construction (Hedreen 2001:175–176).

Proklos suggests that Achilles was fighting his way through the gates (εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεισπεσὼν, "rushing into the city"). That would indeed be a natural consequence of Trojans rushing through the gates and leaving them open too long after the rout (cf. *Il.* 21.531–538). Vian (1959:31) stresses that Achilles' penetration of the gates is an idiosyncrasy of the *Aithiopis,* but the idea seems consistent with the general agreement of our sources that Achilles died menacing the city. A fragment of Stesichoros (S137 *PMGF*) that contains πόλιν and τείχεος in subsequent lines after earlier mentioning Achilles may also be referring to the hero's death at the walls. Apollodoros specifies the walls as the place of his death. Quintus claims that Achilles would have broken the gates if he had not been slain (though the hero seems to be only near the walls when wounded). Horace in *Ode* 4.6.3–8 stresses the threat Achilles presented to Troy by characterizing him as the "near victor of Troy" who "shook the Dardanian gates." The walls of Troy are frequently depicted as a background to the scene in later art.[29]

Proklos in his summary of the *Aithiopis* and Apollodoros both state that Paris and Apollo killed Achilles. However, many literary sources report that either Paris or Apollo acted alone.[30] Iconography rarely shows Apollo at the death scene, and never without Paris.[31] Authors and artists who mention or portray only one or the other do not necessarily follow divergent traditions; they could be emphasizing the slayer of their choice for their own narrative purposes (Gantz 1993:625). It seems usual to conceive of Apollo as guiding arrows that Paris shot, as some narrate the action (e.g., Ver. *Aen.* 6.56–58; Ov. *Met.*12.597–609).

F. *There is a battle over the corpse of Achilles (in which Glaukos is killed by Ajax), and Ajax carries the body to safety as Odysseus defends.*
MAIN SOURCES: *Odyssey* 5.308–310, 24.36–42; *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.4; Quintus of Smyrna 3.204–387. A lost Chalkidian vase pictures Ajax wounding Glaukos.[32] Numerous representations from an early date show Ajax with the corpse of Achilles.[33]

In *Odyssey* book 24 the shade of Agamemnon reports that this battle lasted all day, and Odysseus in *Odyssey* book 5 wishes that he had died in the fight. The battle is briefly mentioned by Proklos in his summary of the *Aithiopis* and by Apollodoros. A number of fragments by Stesichoros may describe the body of Achilles lying in the dust while some Greeks debated whether to flee from the battle (Garner 1993:159–160). Quintus of Smyrna describes this battle at length in his third book.

Apollodoros specifies that Ajax killed Glaukos in the fighting over Achilles'

corpse. According to Quintus of Smyrna, Glaukos is killed by Ajax, but only as one of many. A lost Chalkidian vase pictures Ajax wounding Glaukos at the very moment Glaukos is attempting to attach a cord to Achilles' ankle; it is tempting to conclude that the artist has chosen to illustrate a well-known event in myth. Another Etruscan work from the second or first century BCE probably represents Glaukos grasping Achilles by the foot as Ajax begins to lift him.[34]

The intense fighting in this battle recalled by Odysseus in book 5 of the *Odyssey* may allude to his defense of Ajax while Ajax carried the corpse to safety. Those are the roles that Odysseus and Ajax played in this battle, as Proklos and Apollodoros report.[35] The actions by Ajax and Odysseus at that time apparently became an issue later when they quarreled over Achilles' arms.[36] Quintus of Smyrna gives Ajax a prominent role in the battle, but the rescue of the corpse is accomplished by a nameless group of Greeks. The shade of Agamemnon in book 24 of the *Odyssey* also neglects to specify the usual roles of Ajax and Odysseus; he simply states that "we" carried the corpse back to the ships. The antiquity of the rescue of the corpse by Ajax is confirmed by the numerous representations of Ajax carrying the corpse of Achilles in art from as early as the late eighth century. Some scholars are skeptical of the identification of the figures in the schema before the sixth century because of a lack of inscriptions and because the corpse on one early example is identified as someone other than Achilles ("Aristodamos"), but most scholars consider the earliest examples of the schema to be of Ajax and Achilles.[37]

G. *There is an elaborate funeral ceremony for Achilles, which Thetis, the Nereids, and the Muses attend; Thetis takes Achilles from the pyre to a paradisiacal location; the Greeks build a conspicuous funeral mound at Troy.*

MAIN SOURCES: *Odyssey* 24.43–84; *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.5; Quintus of Smyrna 3.525–787.

The funeral for Achilles is fully reported at *Odyssey* book 24, where Agamemnon relates that the Greeks mourned over the laid-out corpse of Achilles, and then that Thetis, the Nereids, and the Muses arrived and participated in an elaborate ceremony that lasted seventeen days. In the summary of the *Aithiopis* by Proklos the Greeks lay out the body of Achilles and Thetis arrives with the Muses and her sister Nereids to mourn over it. Pindar describes aspects of the funeral in a couple of brief passages.[38] Apollodoros simply notes that the Greeks grieved for Achilles at his funeral, but Quintus of Smyrna gives a long description of the funeral, including the attendance of Thetis, the Nereids, and the Muses at the ceremony.[39]

The subject of Achilles' funeral is rare in art, but one work from the early sixth century apparently provides a vivid depiction of Thetis and the Nereids with the laid-out body of Achilles.[40] A number of women surround a corpse on a bier, tearing their hair and scratching their cheeks; some are inscribed with names commonly used for Nereids. The unidentified woman who holds the head of the corpse in her hands must be Thetis mourning over her slain son. The only other depictions of the funeral in art can be found on two Iliac tablets; one shows Thetis, a Muse, and probably one Nereid with the corpse of Achilles, while the other seems to show Thetis by her son's corpse.[41]

Proklos continues his summary of the *Aithiopis* by stating that Thetis took Achilles off the pyre and brought him to Leuke ("White Island"): ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει. The description of Achilles' funeral in *Odyssey* 24 makes no mention of a translation of Achilles to a paradise; instead, the shade of Achilles is present in Hades in both *Odyssey* 24 and 11. We may suspect that the *Aithiopis* follows pre-Homeric myth in narrating that Thetis obtained a special afterlife for her son, because one can hardly find another source from the ancient world that agrees with the Homeric placement of Achilles in Hades rather than at a paradisiacal setting.[42]

A number of sources report that the hero went to Leuke. The fragment of Alkaios that refers to Achilles as lord of Skythia (Ἀχίλλευς, ὸ τὰς Σκυθίκας μέδεις, 354 L-P; "Achilles, you who rule over Skythia") seems to refer to his immortality in the Black Sea area, if not specifically the island there identified as Leuke (see chapter 8). There are a number of inexact references to the "White Island" in Pindar and Euripides ("bright island" or "white shore").[43] In Quintus of Smyrna (3.766–780) there is no indication that Thetis took her son from the pyre, but there is undoubtedly an allusion to Leuke when Poseidon promises to Thetis that Achilles will inhabit an island in the Euxine. Some sources place Achilles in the Isles of the Blessed, notably Pindar's second *Olympian Ode* (79–80) and Apollodoros.[44] Elysion is specified as the paradise for Achilles by other sources.[45] Though there is much variance on the actual setting of Achilles' paradise, all of the preceding sources agree that Achilles enjoyed a paradisiacal afterlife.[46]

Achilles himself speaks of the mixing of his ashes with those of Patroklos and the raising of his funeral mound at *Iliad* 23.243–248, where he gives instructions to the Greeks on what to do when he dies. He specifies the mixing of his ashes with those of Patroklos in response to a request by the shade of Patroklos at 23.83–92. In book 24 of the *Odyssey* the funeral of Achilles is said to have ended with the burial of his ashes with those of Patroklos in a tomb. Proklos in his summary of the *Aithiopis* merely states that the Greeks raised a funeral mound. Apol-

lodoros says that the Greeks buried the ashes of Achilles together with those of Patroklos—at Leuke, a detail that Frazer correctly excises as corrupt.[47] Quintus reports the gathering of Achilles' ashes and burial of them in a tomb.

Book 24 of the *Odyssey* seems to reflect pre-Homeric myth about the funeral of Achilles with the exception that it omits the translation of Achilles. The cyclic tradition considered the hero to have an afterlife in a paradise location, though conception of what the paradise was varied. The apparent contradiction between the traditional afterlife of Achilles and the Homeric placement of him in Hades, as well as the seeming contradiction between a translation and a burial mound, as found in the *Aithiopis* and elsewhere, is explored further in chapter 7.

H. *Games are held in honor of Achilles.*

MAIN SOURCES: *Odyssey* 24.85–92; *Aithiopis* (Proklos); Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.5–6; Quintus of Smyrna 4.88–595.

At *Odyssey* book 24 it is stated that Thetis obtained prizes from the gods for games in honor of Achilles. The summary of the *Aithiopis* by Proklos merely reports the occurrence of funeral games as the setting for the quarrel over the arms of Achilles that arose between Ajax and Odysseus. Apollodoros reports the winners of the contests but does not indicate that Thetis oversaw the games. Quintus of Smyrna gives the lengthiest version; all the contests are described, and Thetis is said to preside. These games do not seem to have been represented in early art, though an immediate result of them, the suicide of Ajax, was a popular theme at an early date, from the early seventh century.[48]

These motifs indicate the outlines of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles as it was commonly narrated in pre-Homeric myth. The next chapter examines direct allusions to the death of Achilles in the *Iliad,* to be followed in the ensuing chapters by an exploration of the neoanalyst argument that the traditional death of Achilles is reflected in the *Iliad* through the actions of Achilles and Patroklos.

The Destiny of Achilles in the Iliad

Chapter 2 established the outlines of the pre-Homeric story of Achilles death; in this chapter, the *Iliad*'s direct references to the death of Achilles are examined. The poem seems to assume preexisting traditions that are known to its audience. The relevant passages are incomplete and at times seemingly contradictory, but nonetheless it became clear that the *Iliad* displays awareness of a traditional tale in which Apollo and Paris kill Achilles by means of bow and arrow at the walls of Troy. As we have seen, these circumstances are found in non-Homeric traditions of the death of Achilles (motif E of the death of Achilles *fabula*).

Although the death of Achilles is not portrayed within the narrative boundaries of the *Iliad,* it is frequently mentioned, and in the later books it is noticeably stressed.[1] Thetis has prophetic knowledge of her son's death, and she has shared this information with her son. This is remarkable in itself—Achilles is the only major character with foreknowledge of his death, though some minor figures are comparable, notably Euchenor (13.663–670; for others, see King 1987:237 n.14). The approaching death of Achilles is also foreseen by a few others besides Thetis, as indicated by rather brief and vague statements. This chapter first determines how the Homeric poem conceives of Achilles' death, and then considers the poetic effect of the *Iliad*'s thematic use of Achilles' destiny.

Achilles' fate in the *Iliad* is refracted through a prism of various narratological perspectives. The narrator avoids a direct exposition of Achilles' fate, and the characters who allude to it have different perspectives and motives. Achilles himself does not always give credible testimony about it. Let us start by surveying what Achilles and Thetis know, or seem to know. They are usually imprecise about the nature of his coming fate, though at times key details emerge.

In a famous passage (9.410–416), Achilles claims that his mother has revealed that he has two fates, either to remain at Troy, die young, and earn fame, or to return home, live long, and forgo fame. Let us reserve discussion of that passage for

later, first pursuing other passages about his destiny. At 17.401–409 the narrator reports that Achilles has been repeatedly informed by his mother that he will not take Troy: πολλάκι γὰρ τό γε μητρὸς ἐπεύθετο νόσφιν ἀκούων / ἣ οἱ ἀπαγγέλλεσκε Διὸς μεγάλοιο νόημα (For many times he had learned this by listening in private to his mother, who often reported the thought of great Zeus to him). At 18.95–96 his mother tells him that his death will follow Hektor's, the only information about his death that we observe Thetis directly give to Achilles in the poem: ὠκύμορος δή μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις· / αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος (you will be swift-fated, my son, given what you say; for straightaway then after Hektor your fate is ready). At 21.277–278 he mentions his mother's prediction of his death by the shafts of Apollo: ἣ μ' ἔφατο Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχεϊ θωρηκτάων / λαιψηροῖς ὀλέεσθαι Ἀπόλλωνος βελέεσσιν (she said that I would die under the walls of the breastplate-wearing Trojans, by the swift weapons of Apollo). Though the word βέλος can be used of other weapons, Apollo is usually associated with arrows, and the passage leaves one with the impression that they will be used to kill him (N. Richardson 1993:63).

Achilles had earlier in book 21 spoken to Lykaon about his death:

> ἀλλ' ἔπι τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή·
> ἔσσεται ἠ' ἠὼς ἢ δειέλη ἢ μέσον ἦμαρ,
> ὁππότε τις καὶ ἐμεῖο ἄρῃ ἐκ θυμὸν ἕληται
> ἠ' ὅ γε δουρὶ βαλὼν ἢ ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ὀϊστῷ·
>
> (21.110–113)
>
> But death and strong fate will come upon me also. For there will be a dawn or evening or midday when someone will destroy my life too in battle, either shooting with a spear or with an arrow from a bow.

Because Achilles knows his fate from his mother, he is here thinking of her prophecies and not simply musing aloud about the risks of warfare. In this passage, though, Achilles is much less specific than in the later passage in the book (277–278). Apollo is not mentioned, and Achilles talks of his being struck by someone someday with a spear or arrow (δουρὶ . . . ἢ . . . ὀϊστῷ). But in comparable Homeric passages, the second possibility of a pair becomes true (Macleod 1982:151), and the second possibility in this passage would seem to be confirmed by the non-Homeric tradition (motif E of the *fabula*).

Other characters besides Thetis and Achilles speak of the hero's fate and sometimes provide quite specific information. As Achilles sets out to battle in book 19, the divine horse Xanthos reports to him that a god and a man will be his future

slayers: ἀλλὰ σοὶ αὐτῷ / μόρσιμόν ἐστι θεῷ τε καὶ ἀνέρι ἶφι δαμῆναι (but for you yourself it is fated to be conquered mightily by a god and a man; 416–417). The dying Hektor is more specific about these details at 22.359–360. Paris and Apollo will be the slayers, and the scene of his death will be at the Skaian gates: ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων / ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσιν (on that day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo will slay you, though you are noble, by the Skaian gates). The ghost of Patroklos at 23.80–81 also says that the location of Achilles' death will be under the walls of Troy: καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ μοῖρα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ / τείχει ὕπο Τρώων εὐηφενέων ἀπολέσθαι (and it is fated for you yourself, godlike Achilles, to perish beneath the walls of the wealthy Trojans). If Achilles has not acquired a complete picture of his coming fate from his mother, he certainly does from these characters by the end of the *Iliad*.

Some references to the death of Achilles are not founded on any special knowledge of the future. When facing Achilles, Agenor confidently proclaims that the Trojan defense of Troy will ensure that Achilles meets his fate there (21.588). This is bluster, not prophecy (though the claim might seem striking to a mythologically informed audience). Some Trojans hopefully wish Achilles ill in his absence. Polydamas at 18.283 imagines dogs eating his corpse; Priam at 22.41–42 hopes that both dogs and vultures will devour it; Hekabe at 24.212–213 wishes that she could gnaw on his liver. But these are hostile musings, not informed predictions. Though Achilles will die, there certainly will not be any vengeful misuse of the corpse, which traditionally Ajax rescues. In general, mortals do not seem to have foreknowledge of Achilles' early death. They may be given information about it; the embassy in book 9 hears Achilles speak of a choice of fates, and Lykaon hears Achilles speak of his death in rather vague terms at 21.110–113. And mortals can acquire prophetic foresight of Achilles' fate in special circumstances, as we have seen: at the point of death (Hektor at 22.356–360; cf. Patroklos's last words to Hektor at 16.844–854), or as a shade after death (Patroklos at 23.80–81). As a rule, though, foresight of the death of Achilles is a divine capability.

The death of Achilles is directly mentioned only in the speech of characters, not in the narrative. There is an indirect exception at 17.194–197, where it is noted that Achilles will not grow old in his armor. This is probably a reference to his early death, not simply to the loss of this first set of his two sets of armor in the *Iliad*.[2] Yet it does seem that the narrator, the most trustworthy source of what will happen, is noticeably less willing to speak of Achilles' death than the coming deaths of other characters. Sarpedon's death is predicted (16.458–461), and the impending death of Patroklos is frequently stressed (16.46–47, 247–252, 644–651,

684–693, 787). At 12.10–18, when predicting the future destruction of the Achaean wall, the narrator implies the coming death of Hektor but forgoes the opportunity to mention the death of Achilles.[3] Perhaps widespread knowledge of the mythological death of Achilles makes authoritative announcement of it unnecessary, and more explicit narrative strategies were required in the cases of Sarpedon, Patroklos, and Hektor. Sarpedon may have been imported from other traditions into the *Iliad* (Burgess 2001a:218 n.95), and the traditional roles of Patroklos and Hektor were probably greatly expanded in the Homeric poem (though it is unlikely that they are invented characters; Burgess 2001a:64–84). To understand these innovatively employed characters, the audience would require direction.

After the narrator, the gods and especially Zeus must be regarded as the most credible sources of information about future events. There is no reference to the death of Achilles by Zeus, though he refers to the deaths of Sarpedon (16.433–434), Patroklos (15.64–67), and Hektor (15.68, 17.201–208). It is particularly striking that in his broad prediction of the future in book 15 (59–77) Zeus states that Patroklos and Hektor will die but fails to mention the death of Achilles (perhaps tact on the part of Zeus when addressing Hera: Janko 1992:234). Thetis and Xanthos provide divine predictions of the death of Achilles, as we saw, but divinities who do not have a close relationship to Achilles only speak vaguely of the coming death of Achilles. The lack of authoritative delineation of Achilles' fate, as well as vague references to it by various characters, paradoxically emphasizes the hero's fate. Without knowledge of a traditional account of Achilles' death, the ancient audience would have been largely mystified by the *Iliad*'s allusions to it. Because the audience knows the traditional story of Achilles' death, the poem's circling around it becomes ominous.[4]

Some conclusions can be reached from the passages examined so far about the approaching death of Achilles. The topic appears often but usually in an imprecise manner. The narrator seems to allude to his death just once, and mortals do not normally seem to know of it, except in special circumstances, as in the case of the dying Hektor and the shade of Patroklos. Gods generally know of it, but except for Xanthos and Thetis they do not provide much information. We only once see Thetis give Achilles specific information, but he frequently talks of prophecies he has heard from her, apparently from before the dramatic time of the *Iliad* (chapter 1).

Hektor's last words come closest to a complete description of Achilles' death. He specifies Apollo and Paris as the slayers and the Skaian gates as the place (22.359–360). This provides two of the three basic elements (slayers, location, weapon).

Other passages reinforce this information. At 19.417 it is specified that a divinity will participate in the slaying, and at 21.278 Apollo is named as a slayer. In addition, Apollo's words to Achilles at 22.13, οὐ μέν με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι μόρσιμός εἰμι, "you will not kill me, since I am not fated for you," may be viewed as implying the antithesis, "but you are fated to be killed by me" (Schoeck 1961:39). Paris is not mentioned outside of Hektor's last words in connection with the death of Achilles, but at 19.417 it is predicted that a mortal will be a second slayer. At 21.277 and 23.81 the walls of Troy are specified as the scene of Achilles' death. These passages are not as clear about the weapon to be used, but it is easily concluded from 21.277–278 and 21.110–113 that Achilles will be slain by bow and arrow. The three major elements of slayers, location, and weapon are central to the Iliadic portrayal of the death of Achilles, undoubtedly because these were well established in traditional mythology, as non-Homeric evidence seems to confirm.

When does the *Iliad* suggest that Achilles learned of his fate from Thetis? The opening book portrays Thetis and Achilles as already aware of his short life in a general way.[5] Achilles says to his mother:

> μῆτερ ἐπεί μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἐόντα,
> τιμήν πέρ μοι ὄφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι
> Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης (352–354)

> Mother, since you bore me, though one short-lived, Zeus the loud thunderer ought to extend honor at least to me.

Thetis in her reply comments:

> αἴθ' ὄφελες παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπήμων
> ἧσθαι, ἐπεί νύ τοι αἶσα μίνυνθά περ οὔ τι μάλα δήν·
> νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' ὠκύμορος καὶ ὀϊζυρὸς περὶ πάντων
> ἔπλεο· τώ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκσν ἐν μεγάροισι
> (415–418)

> Would that you sit free of tears and pain by the ships, since your life-span is short indeed, not at all very long. But now you've become both swift-fated and miserable beyond all. Therefore I bore you to an evil fate in our home.

Thetis later in the book says to Zeus: τίμησόν μοι υἱόν, ὃς ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων / ἔπλετ' (honor my son, who is most swift-fated of all, 505–506). These passages do not simply contrast the hero's mortality with his mother's divinity (*pace* Pope 1985:8 n.14). The phrase ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων at line 505 signifies

more than that, and it is unlikely that Thetis would mention her son's early death to Zeus but not to Achilles.

The *Iliad* emphasizes the mortal side of the semidivine hero from its inception; the patronymic epithet "son of Peleus" in the very first line points toward the hero's mortal heritage (Graziosi and Haubold 2005:58, 140–141). The poem also implies that Thetis has told her son about his destiny of an early death before the opening of the poem. Perhaps she had not told him everything, however; apparently Achilles has not previously heard that he will die shortly after Hektor's death (18.96). But there is no indication that other information is given to Achilles by his mother during the span of the poem' s temporal framework. The *Iliad* always seems to suggest that Achilles learns his fate from Thetis before the dramatic time of the poem.

The *Iliad* also implies that Achilles has listened to multiple prophecies. "Many times" (πολλάκι) Thetis kept telling (ἀπαγγέλλεσκε) Achilles of the thought of Zeus (17.408–409). This may be "rhetorical overstatement" (Macleod 1982:96), but the *Iliad* finds the notion of continual prophecy agreeable in the case of other mantic parents. The word πολλάκι is used of the prophecies of Euchenor's father (13.666), and imperfect tenses are used at 11.329–332, where a mantic father repeatedly tries to restrain his sons from going to war. Furthermore, long and repeated conversation is a feature of the Achilles-Thetis relationship. Many passages in the *Iliad* suggest that Thetis was often with her son at Peleus's home in the past. For example, Achilles states that he heard her story of her rescue of Zeus "many times" (πολλάκι, 1.396) in his father's home. Nothing more than frequent visiting is necessarily suggested, though many have concluded that the *Iliad* is inconsistent about whether Thetis lived in the sea or with her husband.[6] At Troy, as Zeus says, Thetis is by her son's side day and night (24.72–73). This is an exaggeration, of course (Macleod 1982 ad loc.), but it reflects the Homeric portrayal of the relationship between mother and son. When we last hear of Thetis, she is having a long conversation with her son (πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον "they kept addressing many winged words to one another," 24.142). The *Iliad* suggests that Achilles receives his information not by divine revelation but from discussions naturally arising between a mother and her son.[7]

Achilles' past knowledge of Patroklos's fate is expressed variously, leading to charges of inconsistency. When he recalls that he told Menoitios before the war that they would both return home (18.324–327), it seems that he did not know that either he or Patroklos would die. When he notes his earlier hope that Patroklos would tend to Neoptolemos after his death (19.328–333), it appears that he thought only Patroklos would survive. He elsewhere implies that he understood

his mother's prophecy that the "best of the Myrmidons" would die in his lifetime to be about Patroklos:

> μὴ δή μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ,
> ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε καί μοι ἔειπεν
> Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἔτι ζώοντος ἐμεῖο
> χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο·
> (18.8–11)
>
> Let the gods not let happen the evil cares in my soul, as once my mother explained to me and said that the best of the Myrmidons would leave the light of the sun beneath the hands of the Trojans while I was alive.

Some other passages seem relevant but need not further complicate the issue. Achilles' wish to take Troy with Patroklos alone (16.97–100) is an impossible wish, and as such it does not conflict with any knowledge he has about Patroklos or himself. The report of the narrator 17.404–411 that Thetis did not then tell him that Patroklos had perished, though she had often favored him with privileged information in the past, in no way contradicts the prophecy recalled in book 18.[8] Achilles is here said to expect Patroklos to return, because he does not think that Patroklos would sack Troy either without him or with him, but this has no implications about Achilles' knowledge or lack thereof concerning Patroklos's fate. Achilles did not think that Patroklos would now try to sack Troy by himself because he had told him not to attempt to do this; as an afterthought, Achilles recognizes that they will never sack the city together because he will die before Troy falls.[9] The logic is a bit loose, but it well reflects an anxious moment.

Many have concluded that the Iliadic treatment of the fate of Patroklos is inconsistent, with details added in an ad hoc manner.[10] A possible defense is that different prophecies occurred at different times in past. As we have seen, multiple prophecy to Achilles is often indicated in the *Iliad*. One could choose to understand that Achilles' initial ignorance of either of their fates (e.g., when with Menoitios or Peleus) was followed by prophecy about his death as he leaves Phthia for Troy (by Thetis, as suggested in chapter 1), followed still later by his mother's prophecy about the "best of the Myrmidons." One cannot fault Achilles for carelessly ignoring this prophecy, which seems more oracular than informative; oracles in myth are commonly understood only in hindsight.[11] Achilles could have misunderstood his mother's words because technically Patroklos is not a Myrmidon.[12] Even if he knew that Patroklos is fated to be slain at Troy, he has given his friend stringent instructions, and his divine armor.

Such coordination and justification of the passages about Patroklos's fate takes some effort, however, often employing psychologizing speculation that leads us astray from the poem. It is easier to conclude that the *Iliad* is not always interested in maintaining consistency concerning Achilles' knowledge of the fate of Patroklos. The "best of the Myrmidons" prophecy may well be an ad hoc invention designed to serve the immediate poetic purpose of pathos arising from Achilles' belated recognition of the truth.[13] This would not be surprising, because it is doubtful that prophecy about the fate of Patroklos was an important and stable element of traditional myth. Outside of the *Iliad,* he does not seem to be regarded as a major figure, and one cannot expect consistency of details concerning him.

Further controversy over consistency concerns the "choice" of Achilles that is featured in Achilles' reply to the embassy in book 9. Many scholars have become so fascinated by this concept that they speak of Achilles as if he is continuously faced with a decision about his fate until he chooses to stay and die in book 18. That interpretation, though, ignores the fact that the *Iliad* elsewhere portrays the fate of Achilles as long decided.[14] It is more likely that Achilles is being untruthful in book 9 or perhaps is misleadingly speaking of a choice that he made in the past.

In book 1 Achilles speaks with Thetis as if his fate is already decided. Achilles' claim that he had always hoped he alone and not Patroklos would die in Troy (19. 328–333) also implies knowledge of his death long before the dramatic time of the *Iliad*. From the start of the poem, Thetis does not seem to think that his fate can be averted. She hopes simply that he at least be happy, and she feels powerless to effect even this (1.415–418; cf. 18.61–62 = 442–443). Although Thetis was traditionally more powerful than the *Iliad* suggests (Slatkin 1991:17–52), resignation to her son's fate is not surprising in the context of her earlier failures to forestall his fate. Achilles certainly does not speak as if he has a choice in the matter. It would be odd if Achilles still contemplated a return home ten years after he arrived at Troy.

In fact, Achilles never really denies that he will die at Troy in the course of the *Iliad*. When in book 1 he tells Agamemnon that the plague will force the Greeks to go home (59–60), he is raising a possibility that would preclude his fated death at Troy. Here, however, his emphasis is on the seriousness of the plague, and we need not suppose that he actually believes the Greeks will go home and his fate will not be realized. After becoming enraged later in the same book, he does threaten to depart by himself (169), but we should classify this remark with his threats of returning home and becoming married in book 9 (356–367, 393–397). Then, as in book 1, he speaks in anger and is intent on startling his audience. These passages do not indicate a true denial of his fate.

Peleus had promised Achilles' hair to the river Spercheios if his son returned home safely (23.140–151). This suggests that Peleus did not know or did not believe in his son's fate. The fact that Achilles waits until book 23 to cut his hair, explaining to Spercheios then that he knows he will not return, might suggest that he had earlier, along with his father, disbelieved in his fate, or was ignorant of it. Yet he had repeatedly emphasized his coming death in the books before book 23 without feeling the need to cut off his hair. One could suppose that the funeral of Patroklos provides an opportunity for him to cut off his hair with a new signification—respect for a close friend, as opposed to his father's intended thanksgiving for his return—but the cutting of hair is undoubtedly ad hoc invention and not a detail from traditional myth. Peleus's unrealized hope for his son's return and Achilles' grim fatalism toward his own death inject pathos into the scene, and that is the function of the hair-cutting motif. If inconsistency concerning Achilles' knowledge of his fate results, it is well worth it and not liable to be a distraction.

At 21.275–278 Achilles expresses disbelief in his fate. Here Achilles mistakenly fears that it is his fate to perish in the river, and he explicitly questions the truthfulness of his mother. He does not believe in this passage that he will not die; he is just surprised and dismayed at the circumstances in which he apparently will die. There is no indication that he has a choice of fates, and his tone in book 21 encourages our suspicion that his claims in book 9 about an ongoing choice were misleading.[15]

Outside of book 9 Achilles often speaks of prophecies by Thetis from long ago without making any connection to a choice of fates. Nestor implies at 11.794–795 that Achilles has a conditional prophecy and that he has chosen to withdraw and be safe, but this comment is apparently in reaction to Achilles' words as reported by the embassy. The only other passage in the *Iliad* that might reflect a conditional prophecy occurs at 18.95–96. Some conclude that the words of Thetis, ὠκύμορος δή μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις· / αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος (you will be swift-fated, my son, given what you say; for straightaway then after Hektor your fate is ready), imply that Achilles could live if he did not kill Hektor. But such a choice, whether to avoid Hektor and live or kill him and die, would not be the choice of book 9 (though the two passages are conflated at Pl. *Symp.* 179e). And the words of Thetis in book 18 do not imply that Achilles has a choice of fates. She merely observes that his determination to die confirms a fate she views as irrevocable and then provides more specific information about it.

It is clear that no other passages in the *Iliad* support Achilles' assertion in book 9 that he can choose to live. Achilles is never unaware that he will die at Troy, nor

does he ever really think that his fate is avoidable. The "choice" of book 9 contributes subtly to the characterization of Achilles. Achilles' talk of going home is best seen as a threat, perhaps made with self-delusion.[16] The hero seems to be manipulating others, and perhaps is also thinking out loud, expressing doubts about what he actually knows is fated and irrevocable. Counterfactual musings are part of Homeric poetry—even Zeus briefly wonders whether the fated death of Sarpedon need occur (16.433–438).

Those who recognize this sometimes conclude that the concept of Achilles' choice of fates is an ad hoc invention, only introduced into his story here.[17] One can support the view by considering a choice of fates a typical motif. Euchenor at 13.663–670 is said to have had a choice of types of deaths, though perhaps as a reflection of Achilles.[18] Achilles' choice has also been compared to those of Herakles and Gilgamesh.[19] If heroic choice is a general motif, then it might conceivably become attached to Achilles in an ad hoc manner in book 9 of the *Iliad.* Yet a choice of fates, whether a general motif or not, may have always been part of traditional myth concerning Achilles. If so, it is much more likely that it belongs to his past and not to the context of the *Iliad,* as was argued in chapter 1. It makes narrative sense for Achilles to be presented with a choice when he set out for the Trojan War; it is less credible that Achilles is mulling over such a choice in the tenth year of the war. Achilles might be viewed as attempting to reestablish his choice of fates in book 9, but it becomes clear by the end of the scene in book 9 that Achilles has no real intention of leaving. He does not actually reestablish a choice of fates, and the impossibility of doing so probably fuels his anger toward Agamemnon. If Achilles once chose honor at the cost of a long life before the beginning of the war, Agamemnon would seem to have ruined the benefit of that difficult choice: now Achilles has a short life and is dishonored.[20]

A related controversy concerns the suggestion by Nestor that Achilles is staying out of battle because of a prophecy from Thetis (11.794–795). When Patroklos confronts Achilles with this suggestion at 16.36–37, Achilles seems to deny that Thetis has foretold anything to him (50–51): οὔτε θεοπροπίης ἐμπάζομαι ἥν τινα οἶδα, / ὔντέ τί μοι πὰρ Ζηνὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ (I am not concerned with any prophecy which I know, nor did my reverend mother disclose anything to me from Zeus). Does this conflict with his remarks elsewhere about receiving information about his destiny from his mother? No, for surely Monro was correct in his argument that the hero here denies not knowledge of prophecy, but prophecy as a reason for his disengagement.[21] Line 50 makes that quite clear; it is line 51 that has caused misunderstanding, because Achilles repeats the wording of the suggestion in his denial of it. If one takes into consideration the tenac-

ity of word grouping in oral poetics and recognizes that question and reply often follow certain patterns in Homer, it becomes clear that Achilles has simply reused the phraseology of Nestor's words and does not mean to deny that he has ever heard a prophecy from his mother.[22]

The denial of Achilles may seem too emphatic, but a strong reaction to the suggestion that he is avoiding battle out of fear is consistent with his characterization. We might choose to link Nestor's statement, which may be deliberate provocation, to Achilles' words to the embassy—in the very least, Achilles' "choice" is necessarily on the audience's mind as it interprets his words.[23] Nestor seems to suggest a conditional fate—if Achilles stays out of battle, he will be safe. That is not exactly the "choice" of which Achilles spoke in book 9, but redefinition of the choice may be designed to provoke Achilles to action, as in fact it eventually seems to do.[24] Achilles stresses in his following words that it is Agamemnon's treatment of him that caused his withdrawal. If Achilles in book 16 seems to overlook his previous talk of a choice of fates, it is because he misled the embassy in book 9; he does not really have a choice of fates anymore. His failure to mention the concept in book 16 is not an inconsistency of the poem, or a matter of textual interpolation; it is again a matter of characterization. Achilles strayed from the truth of his destiny in book 9; later he increasingly returns to it, or rather lets slide his previous suggestions of a "choice."

Other minor issues of inconsistency concerning Achilles' fate have arisen. It was noted that in book 21 Achilles seems to know he will be killed by bow and arrow, though shortly before he expressed doubt over whether a spear or a bow will be used. Leaf believes (1971 *ad* 278) there is a slight contradiction between the two passages. We should not expect Achilles to explain to Lykaon or anyone he meets the exact circumstances of his fate. In the *Iliad* mortals generally do not know about Achilles' fate, and Achilles is willing to manipulate details about the nature of his fate for a desired effect. Here he indicates clearly to Lykaon that he accepts his mortality, and focusing on the details of his fate would distract from this essential point. Sensitivity to the nuances of the situation in this passage should eliminate the wish that it be consistent with all other references to the fate of Achilles.

It has been occasionally thought that Achilles' mention of Apollo alone at 21.278 contradicts other passages in which Paris is also said to be responsible for his death.[25] That is unimaginative; the *Iliad* does not specify that Thetis told Achilles that Paris would be involved in his death. Xanthos reports that a mortal, along with a deity, would be a slayer, and presumably Achilles could repeat this information in book 21 if he so chose. But we need not expect that Achilles spec-

ify to Lykaon everything he knows, whatever that is, about his coming death, and the book 21 passage does not challenge our conclusion above that the *Iliad* knows of a tradition in which both Paris and Apollo are implicated.

Although the theme of Achilles' fate is sometimes expanded with ad hoc invention of details, charges of inconsistency have not always led to profitable interpretation. Above we were able to ascertain the basic elements of the traditional death of Achilles by examining key passages in the *Iliad*. Characters react to the theme of Achilles' fate in various ways, sometimes with misunderstanding, self-delusion, or deception. Passages that seem inconsistent usually have more to do with Homeric characterization than with textual origins. On the other hand, there is no need to be defensive about the poem's consistency on every issue, because it is clear that it can be imprecise when that suits the immediate poetic purpose. The *Iliad*'s conception of the basic elements of Achilles' fate is generally consistent, with ad hoc invention of detail applied to certain scenes. Achilles sometimes claims the power of free will and at other times submits meekly to destiny; sometimes he seems ignorant of his fate and at other times cognizant of its precise circumstances. With his talk of a choice of fates, he temporarily entertains a different arrangement of his destiny than what he seems to believe elsewhere in the poem.

There are also larger poetic effects that result from the overall development of the topic. Most obviously, Achilles' short life serves to emphasize the poem's stress on human mortality, an important theme in the *Iliad* (Griffin 1980). Achilles' discussions of his fate sometimes evolve into a consideration of the frailty and senselessness of human existence. We see this most significantly in his reply to the embassy in book 9. Eventually he seems not so much an unusual hero with a special fate as a symbol of the mortal nature in us all. Achilles himself makes this point when he says to his φίλος Lykaon at 21.106 that no one, not even he, will escape death (Griffin 1980:55). Lykaon's reference to himself at line 84 as μινυνθάδιος, "brief(-lived)," underscores the equation of normal mortals with Achilles in the passage. The adjective is only once associated with Achilles (1.352) and is also used of other characters (notably Hektor at 15.612–13), but the similar adjective ὠκύμορος, "swift-fated," is used exclusively and repeatedly of Achilles (1.417, 505; 18.95, 458).[26] It should therefore be regarded as significant that Lykaon calls himself μινυνθάδιος when confronted by the brief-lived Achilles.

When we trace the development of the theme of Achilles' fate in the *Iliad,* we can feel some sympathy with the common misperception that Achilles does have a choice in the *Iliad*. His early death is addressed just vaguely enough in the first book to be overlooked. Achilles' pretense that he can still choose to live in book 9

is expressed with great rhetorical flair. It may seem that only after the death of Patroklos is he finally certain of his death, indeed impatient for it. Then references to his fate become more numerous and more specific. Though Achilles actually knows that he will die young from the start of the poem, and though it is not strictly logical for Achilles to wrestle with the implications of his fate in the tenth year of the war, the *Iliad* goes beyond having Achilles calmly accept his fate. The dishonor of Achilles by Agamemnon and the death of Patroklos are major events that provoke Achilles to undergo contemplation and eventual (re)acceptance of his fate. Eventually his self-awareness of his coming death is featured as the leitmotiv of the ransom of Hektor's body in book 24: Achilles' certainty of his fate allows him to compare the grief of Priam with the grief of his own father to come. Although the poem consistently portrays the certainty of Achilles' fate, a certainty that the audience will share through its knowledge of traditional myth, it also provides an illusion of uncertainty and choice as a way of furthering the depth of Achilles' characterization.[27]

Intertextuality and Oral Epic

Neoanalysts have often thought that the story of the death of Achilles influenced the *Iliad*'s composition. They have conceived of the *Iliad*'s source as a pre-Homeric epic, now often reconceived as an oral prototype of the Cyclic poem *Aithiopis*. That issue needs further discussion, as does, more importantly, the significance of the *Iliad*'s reflection of Achilles' death. Should the relationship between the story of Achilles' death and the *Iliad* be considered intertextuality? Intertextual studies by classicists have usually focused on the relatively literate worlds of Hellenistic and Latin literature. A term featuring "text" seems inappropriate for the Homeric poems, which display oral compositional techniques and were first publicized by performance. Homeric allusions to extra-Homeric narrative more likely refer to mythological traditions than to specific texts. If so, intertextual analysis that depends on the concept of one text influencing another does not seem applicable to early Greek epic.

Interest in the potential for intertextuality in early Greek epic is increasing, however, although much depends on the meaning of the term.[1] Its "weak" usage has often signified nothing more than literary allusion, or *Quellenforschung* (Peradotto 1997:392). This does not fit the oral circumstances of epic composition in the Archaic Age very easily. Potentially compatible with oral epic would be a more theoretical formulation of the term.[2] The fluidity of oral narrative is certainly susceptible to a postmodern analysis in which everything potentially connects in an endless intersection of "texts." The infinite regress of this approach, however, limits its utility. If one wants to explore significant narrative movement, then certain parameters must be established—for instance, the identification of primary and secondary manifestations of a motif, with the secondary evoking the primary.[3] The challenge for an intertextual examination of oral epic is to respect the fluidity of oral circumstances without losing the ability to discern the possible effect of correspondence.

For an oralist perspective on intertextuality in early epic, we should first turn to the bracing manifesto by Nagy: "When we are dealing with the traditional po-

etry of the Homeric (and Hesiodic) compositions, it is not justifiable to claim that a passage in any text can refer to another passage in another text."[4] Nagy instead sees long-standing poetic performance traditions continuously influencing and reacting to other long-standing yet still evolving poetic traditions (diachronic cross-references, in Nagy's terminology).[5] This statement, made at a time before the difficulties of epic interaction in the early Archaic Age were readily acknowledged, has been found shockingly pessimistic by some. But, if anything, Nagy's approach to early epic intertextuality is rather optimistic. Long-term interaction between fluid poetic traditions is a vague concept.[6] How do performance traditions become aware of each other? Could intertextual relations between them achieve any degree of textual precision?

The most ambitious attempt to delineate "intertextuality" between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* performance traditions has been undertaken by Pucci (1987). Subtle, engrossing, and always rewarding, the work is a major achievement. Yet some aspects of its argument remain problematic. Theoretically, the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* are said to "read" one another, but in practice usually the *Odyssey* is described as reacting to the *Iliad*. This suggests a later historical date for the *Odyssey* or, in the very least, assumes a secondary status for this poem—though such conclusions are denied. Postmodern usage of textual terminology ("texts," "reading"), though made with acknowledgment of the Homeric poems' oral origins, can seem jarring.[7] And the concept of two fluid Homeric poems evolving together (Pucci 1987:18, 41, 61) seems inconsistent with the method of focusing on very specific philological detail.

More problematic, in my view, is the exclusively Homer-centric manner of the explored relationship between the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. References in the *Odyssey* to the charm of the Muses, or the *klea andron*, or "giant texts (songs) of the Trojan war" are interpreted as allusions to the *Iliad*; Cyclic allusions serve simply as slights against the *Iliad*.[8] But such passages more plausibly evoke the general tradition of the Trojan War, that is, the cyclic epic tradition. Pucci justifies his exclusion of the Epic Cyclic by reference to the paucity of the surviving evidence.[9] This assessment strikes me as defeatist in its disinclination to consider the wider expanse of early epic traditions.

Pucci's explorations of the *Odyssey*'s interaction with the *Iliad* are often intriguing, and many others have seen a special relationship existing between the two Homeric poems.[10] In my own analysis, the two Homeric poems have been placed in a circumscribed category because of their "metacyclic" nature. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* share many characteristics, and this might suggest common origins and performance opportunities. Self-awareness of their metacyclic nature

would have encouraged interaction between the two poems or their performance traditions—how this is conceived depends on a scholar's stance toward the Homeric question. Hesiodic poetry offers some comparison for direct and indirect epic intertextuality. The Hesiodic corpus contains interconnections, though the cause may be adherence to a shared system of narrative continuity, not direct relationships between poems (Burgess 2004a:15–16). The *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, on the other hand, have a direct intertextual relationship, which is even more explicit than that between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Nelson 2005:333).

That other early epics interacted with the Homeric poems or with each other is a more difficult assumption. It not easy to explain the mechanics of how one epic could become publicized enough to influence other epics. In the introduction I suggested that some cyclic poems may have developed into performance traditions. If so, repeated performance and acquired authority would presumably result in a degree of influence, and agonistic stances between epic traditions may have encouraged intertextuality.[11] Many epics, though, would not even have been perpetuated in performance to such a degree as to constitute a performance tradition. Nor need every bard have been exclusively dedicated to a specific tradition. Many have even suggested that Homer performed other narratives.[12] This would certainly place supposed intertextuality between the Homeric and non-Homeric in a new light.

My portrayal of the *Iliad*'s interaction with other narratives depends on the assumption of neither a historical master poet nor performance traditions; it focuses only on the Homeric poem's engagement with traditional narratives external to its own. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* possibly had a relation, but direct connections between cyclic epics, or between cyclic epics and the Homeric poems, may not have existed at all. Scodel (2004) has effectively questioned the agonistic nature of Homeric poetry. I would add that Homeric acceptance of other narratives need not imply other epics; a Homeric stance on, for example, Herakles is not necessarily directed toward an epic about Herakles. As I suggested in the introduction, Homeric utilization of other narratives is parasitic, in the sense that the full extent of its potential meaning is dependent on cyclic myth. Therefore, I doubt the common view that the Homeric poems were designed to "supersede" or "neutralize" other traditions (e.g., Finkelberg 2003a:75, 78–79). Such a purpose would have undercut, not maximized, their poetic significance.

The school of thought in Homeric studies that has accomplished the most in exploring the relation between Homeric and non-Homeric material is neoanalysis. As a methodology, neoanalysis would seem to involve a "weak" type of intertextuality: its purpose has tended toward *Quellenforschung* (as the title of Kull-

mann's *Die Quellen der Ilias* indicates), and its method has usually been dependant on the concept of texts. But there have been successful oralist implementations of neoanalysis, and further developments through intertextual theory are possible. The aim of the present chapter is to explore and expand neoanalyst method with oralist and intertextual theory. The progressive extension of the methodology established here is then employed in the chapters that follow.

Neoanalysis employs the close textual examination characteristic of the analyst school of thought that dominated nineteenth-century German Homeric scholarship. Whereas the analysts looked for evidence of multiple authorship, neoanalysts assume a single author, seeing in inconsistencies the influence of multiple sources.[13] Although the use by neoanalysts of the Epic Cycle as evidence for pre-Homeric traditions is basically sound (Burgess 2001a), and some neoanalyst concepts have been very influential, aspects of the methodology are questionable, and not all neoanalyst arguments have found favor.[14]

A central concept in neoanalyst methodology is *motif transference,*[15] which involves the movement of specific non-Homeric narrative elements from their original cyclic context into Homeric poetry. The main focus has usually been on the *Iliad*, though several *Odyssey* passages, notably in book 24, have been employed as key evidence.[16] Neoanalysts have argued that certain motifs in Homeric poetry (usually the *Iliad*) and in the Epic Cycle seem to belong most naturally to the latter. Many of the motif correspondences have long been noticed, though commentators used to routinely conclude either that the Cycle poems borrowed motifs from Homer or that Cyclic motifs had been interpolated into "late" parts of Homer.[17] Building on this earlier research, neoanalysts in the postwar period argued that Homer extensively reused Cyclic material in a highly original manner.

Neoanalysis developed in an atmosphere innocent of the oralist methodology pioneered by Parry (1971) and Lord (1960), and although the methodology has tended to favor a literate conception of the *Iliad,*[18] scholars have increasingly recognized that oral theory is not necessarily inimical to neoanalysis.[19] Both oralists and neoanalysts presume a long pre-Homeric tradition; whereas oralists focus on the poetic craft of this tradition, neoanalysts are interested in its narrative contents. To a certain degree, neoanalysts have responded to oralist criticism with interesting revisions of their methodology, as is apparent in two key issues, texts and typology.

Early manifestations of neoanalysis assumed a textualized culture that is incompatible with the early Archaic Age. When speculating about influences on Homeric poetry, neoanalysts spoke of written texts that Homer had "before his eyes." Neoanalysts postulated hypothetical written poems, like an "Achilleis"

(a poem featuring Achilles) or a "Memnonis" (a poem about Achilles' enemy Memnon), and tried to reconstruct their contents. Schadewaldt (1965) outlined and graphed a "Memnonis" with no less than twenty scenes in four books. At times, neoanalysts even argued that the poems of the Epic Cycle, usually considered later than the Homeric poems, were pre-Homeric poems.[20] More recently, neoanalysts have tended to shy away from such a claim, but occasionally it has been revived.[21] Although new opportunities for this line of argument have arisen because of the general tendency to down-date the Homeric poems, there is no need to posit the influence of the Epic Cycle poems on the Homeric poems. Our sources for the date of early Greek epic are missing or obscure, and the oral context of the composition and performance of early epics should make us wary of pinning an early epic to a specific point in time. Even if early epics could be dated, one cannot assume that one poem at an early date would necessarily be known well enough to influence another.

Some have made a plausible case for the existence of oral Cyclic poems in the pre-Homeric tradition.[22] This is likely enough, though these poems should not be conceived of as static or single oral prototypes of later poems in the Epic Cycle but rather as fluid performance traditions. There must have also been many pre-Homeric epics that had no direct relationship to the Cycle poems at all, even if they covered the same type of narrative (i.e., cyclic). The Epic Cycle poems were essentially just verse manifestations of oral mythological traditions that were known in various forms and media. It is therefore best to regard "cyclic" mythological motifs, episodes, and narratives in general as the sources for the Homeric poems. Whereas neoanalysts have looked for specific Cyclic epics, whether oral or textual, as the source for motifs transferred into a Homeric context, it is more credible to view oral mythological traditions as the primary or source material. The Homeric poems would have also been aware of cyclic epic that exemplifies such myth, but allusion to specific poems should not be expected.

If we drop the assumption that epic intertextuality was implemented through texts in the early Archaic Age, then many neoanalyst arguments need to be modified or rejected. The textual nature of the early work of neoanalysts encouraged arguments that entailed very precise correspondences between Homeric motifs and their non-Homeric counterparts. One cannot posit such detailed correspondence, however, to motifs, derived from myth or cyclic performance traditions, rather than from specific, fixed texts. Though traditional narrative will remain stable in its essential elements, minor details do not remain uniform, and they are likely to be omitted or modified when a motif is transferred. Without pre-Homeric texts, the complexity of some neoanalyst arguments is unacceptable.

It follows that neoanalyst speculation about Homeric "quotation" of lost Cyclic poems is even more dubious. Correspondence in phraseology between rare Cyclic fragments and Homeric verse has usually been considered Cyclic reshuffling of Homeric verse employed as a database (though occasionally—and more plausibly—it is explained as oral typology).[23] Neoanalysts sometimes reverse the direction of movement, suggesting that some passages in the *Iliad* have incorporated (unknown) Cyclic verse.[24] So conceived, this type of argument seems very unlikely. Yet is quite possible that certain phraseology was traditionally associated with specific narrative contexts (Burgess forthcoming). That would not mean that the phraseology originated with a single text and was copied later by another text, or that it belonged in a typological manner to the whole of the oral epic tradition.[25] Rather, I submit, certain phraseology was routinely employed in multiple oral poems that covered a particular situation. Such narrative-specific phraseology could then appear independently in different epics. If the narrative-specific phraseology is used out of context, then it potentially functioned as an allusion to the story in which the phraseology usually appears.

The priority assumed in motif transference by neoanalysts has engendered much debate. The motif in the source text is considered primary, whereas the Homeric manifestation of the motif is considered secondary. Critics have long complained that it is not always clear where a motif primarily "belongs."[26] Sometimes motifs labeled "secondary" by neoanalysts have been thought original in the *Iliad* and then subsequently imitated in the Epic Cycle.[27] Subjective arguments that portray the non-Homeric manifestation of a motif as qualitatively different (more dramatic, less sophisticated, etc.) from the Homeric manifestation can be less than convincing. More persuasive are neoanalyst arguments that highlight peculiarities in how a motif fits into a Homeric context. A prominent example, discussed in the next chapter, occurs at the beginning of book 18 of the *Iliad:* Thetis and the Nereids act as if they are mourning the death of Achilles, when it is actually Patroklos who has died. From a neoanalyst perspective, a motif from the traditional story of Achilles' funeral has been adapted to a new (and inappropriate) Homeric context.

Yet the existence of typology in early epic might call this conclusion into question. Oralists have undermined the back-and-forth arguments over priority between neoanalysts and their critics by disputing the very concept of priority.[28] Typology is the repetition of elements of no apparent origin in oral traditions. Milman Parry focused on the formulaic system of nouns and their epithets, which involves phraseology that usually is less than a line of verse. He also readily accepted the typology demonstrated by Walter Arend of certain recurring scenes,

like preparation of meals or the arming of a warrior. Lord extended the scope of typology to "themes," and certain kinds of typological structures have also been observed within similar narrative situations, for example, battles or speeches.[29] Some motifs analyzed by neoanalysts are also adaptable to any story, much as formulas and type scenes are. If a motif is typological, then all examples of it are equally valid in their various contexts. Even the imperfect integration of a typical motif to its context would not necessarily indicate "transference."

In an important article, Kullmann (1984:312) acknowledged that typical motifs exist but argued that there are also "more specific motifs or specific nuances in general motifs" whose adoption by the Homeric poems can be recognized. This argument is undeniably true to some extent. For example, Agamemnon's return from the Trojan War is not idiosyncratic—*nostos* is a general motif shared by a number of heroic myths–whereas the murder of Agamemnon upon his arrival is an aspect of his return that can be said to belong to him. Because the return of Agamemnon is generally similar to that of Odysseus, the two returns are repeatedly compared in the *Odyssey*. Yet a mythologically informed audience would be shocked by a narrative in which Penelope and a lover ambushed Odysseus upon his return (though the poem does allow the question of Penelope's fidelity to arise, and minor variants existed in which Penelope was unfaithful).[30] The return tale is generic, but particular mythological versions of it may have their own specific details.

So the neoanalyst concept of motif priority is not completely undercut by the existence of oral typology. Formulas, type scenes, and thematic plots are typical but should not be conflated with the midlevel motifs of which a narrative is constituted. Some motifs are typological, to be sure, but mythological tradition is not a storehouse of interchangeable generic motifs. Traditional narratives must have some stable and specific elements to remain recognizably distinct. If specific motifs regularly occur in a particular myth, then it should be noticeable when these appear in a different narrative. Although one must be sensitive to potential typology, it is possible to ascertain specific motifs (belonging to certain characters and traditional scenes, not poems) that exist within Homeric poetry in a secondary manner.

A key criterion for evaluating typology is the degree of repetition.[31] Common in Homeric poetry and the Epic Cycle, repetition is often insignificant.[32] In Trojan War myth, repetition includes the various foreign defenders of Troy (Rhesos, Penthesileia, Memnon, and Eurypylos) and conditions necessary for the fall of Troy (e.g., the stealing of the Palladium, the summoning of Philoktetes). Other correspondence seems nothing more than an expansion of themes or roles, as for

example the paired doublets Mentor/Mentes, Melantho/Melanthios, and arguably Kirke/Kalypso in the *Odyssey*. Achilles and Memnon themselves share characteristics (children of goddesses, Hephaistian golden armor) for which priority does not seem discernible; the correspondence is simply typological, or perhaps a polarity that developed over a long period of time (see chapter 2). The campaign against Troy itself has a doublet: the early, failed Teuthranian expedition;[33] and there is an earlier sack of Troy by Herakles (*Il.* 5.628–651; 14.249–256; 15.18–30). Priority in these cases is not easy to ascertain, and it may be misguided to seek it.

When there are only a few examples of a motif, especially a pair of motifs, sometimes it is possible to discover a relationship between them. This requires more than correspondence; specific elements must be established as appropriate for a primary motif and inappropriate for its secondary reflection. In "anticipatory doublets," the secondary manifestation may serve to foreshadow or prepare for the primary motif.[34] An example is the flame that burns around Diomedes' head (*Il.*5.4–8) that gives a preview of the climactic moment when flame burns around Achilles' head (18.205–14, 225–227).[35] Encouraging one's inclination to see a connection between the two passages is the extensive manner in which Diomedes seems to be an Achilles figure.[36]

The term *doublet* is imprecise in this case, because the pairing of Diomedes to Achilles is much different than that of equal-weight doublets like Melantho/Melanthios. Specific motifs that belong to Achilles have become attached to Diomedes, with the result that he reflects Achilles, and not vice versa. A different term than doublet is required, and I suggest *altera persona*.[37] Besides Diomedes, a number of minor characters have been thought to reflect Achilles,[38] but the most notable *altera persona* of Achilles in the *Iliad* is Patroklos. Motifs pertaining to Patroklos in the *Iliad* (e.g., a duel with a foreign defender of Troy, death brought about with Apollo's assistance, an elaborate funeral with games) correspond to motifs we know were featured in the later life of Achilles. Some motifs in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles are specific to myth about Achilles (e.g., death before the walls of Troy, with Apollo involved), and others are typical but more appropriate for a hero of the stature of Achilles (e.g., funeral games). The resemblance of Patroklos to Achilles in the *Iliad* seems to result from expansion of the traditional character of Patroklos so that his actions suggest events in the traditional story of Achilles. What distinguishes Patroklos as an example of an *altera persona* is that secondary motifs attached to him suggest their primary manifestations outside the boundary of the poem, in myths about Achilles. The character of Patroklos thus functions in a neoanalyst manner—at least from an oralist, intertextual perspective.

In a more extensive manner, scenes at Scheria in the *Odyssey* provide anticipatory mirroring of elements in Odysseus's later experience at Ithaka. The reception of Odysseus is pleasant and welcoming for the most part, but some unsettling details serve to foreshadow the trials of his homecoming.[39] In both situations, Odysseus remains initially disguised, encounters a powerful but enigmatic queen, and engages young rivals in contests. Although the Scheria scenes have their own intrinsic value for the poem, certain motifs within them look forward to later scenes at Ithaka to which they more naturally belong. In effect, the Scheria motifs constitute a series of anticipatory doublets. From this type of significant repetition within the Homeric poems, it is only a short step further, *mutatis mutandis*, into the world of neoanalysis, where Homeric motifs are thought to reflect Trojan War material external to the Homeric poems (McLeod 1987:35). Homeric motifs that reflect material outside the poem function in ways that are comparable to the anticipatory doublet.

In another type of motif transference, a specific motif is applied to the same character with whom it was originally associated but transferred to a new chronological time in his story. The reflection of Achilles' funeral in book 18 of the *Iliad* is an example. The behavior of Thetis, the Nereids, and Achilles is reminiscent of the mythological scene of the funeral of Achilles. In this example of motif transference, a traditional event in the hero's story has been chronologically displaced to an earlier point in time, serving to foreshadow the later scene.

Repetition in motif transference, it is true, is not finite in the way it is in the case of anticipatory doublets. My understanding of motif transference involves a Homeric motif reflecting *innumerable* manifestations of a motif in oral myth. There are parameters to the repetition in motif transference, though. The Homeric instance of the motif will refer to a motif that is traditionally linked to a particular narrative context. The mythological context may be expressed multiple times and in various ways, but its basic contours remain stable. Motif transference is essentially limited to a Homeric secondary instance of a primary motif that is contextually bound, even if it occurs in a relatively fluid manner. In this sense, motif transference is a pairing, analogous to the pairing of "anticipatory doublets" within the Homeric poems.

In general, neoanalysts have focused on composition and not reception.[40] In practice, the methodology of neoanalysis has varied, and it has often been adapted in novel ways. I refer to older forms of neoanalysis that tended to emphasize origins as "classic neoanalysis," while allowing for the existence of progressive adaptation that I term *post-neoanalysis.* As unitarians, classic neoanalysts have emphasized the creative transformation of pre-Homeric material at the neglect of

the allusive significance of this process. A variant of this view, exemplified by Schoeck, portrays a master poet so thoroughly steeped in traditional material that he unconsciously reuses it when composing.[41] The purpose of classic neoanalysts is an academic one: to point out to the scholar unsuccessful transformation of preexisting material. The audience is deemed incognizant or forgiving of inconsistencies that occur in this process.[42]

It is therefore revealing that Kullmann (1991) has compared neoanalysis to other research on material that may have influenced Homeric poetry, including non-Trojan mythological cycles (e.g., the journey of the Argonauts), nonmythological material (e.g., folktale), and even non-Greek material (e.g., Near Eastern sources). Fruitful work in these areas has certainly discovered vestigial indications of such influences,[43] but the influence of non–Trojan War material, folktale motifs, or Near Eastern concepts is essentially passive in effect. The audience is not expected to recognize the original context of the motifs, which are foreign to the story of the Trojan War; the Homeric poems may even have been composed without any conscious recognition of the origin of such motifs. Kullmann's collocation of pre-Homeric influences, fascinating as it may be, neglects to give any special significance to Trojan War motif transference. This study, in contrast, seeks to explore the active, significant effect of Trojan War motif transference.

Many have also recognized the *Iliad*'s evocation of the whole war.[44] Sometimes this is accomplished by direct reference, but it also occurs by means of indirect reflection. Much material in the *Iliad* does not seem to belong to the dramatic time of the poem but rather to mythological events outside the *Iliad*. The resulting delineation of the whole war is essentially a form of motif transference. Especially notable are scenes in books 2–7 of the *Iliad* that seem more appropriate for the beginning of the war, such as the catalog of ships, the marshaling of troops, the duel between Paris and Menelaus, and Priam's inability to recognize the Greek leaders from the wall of the city. Analysts found in such temporal discrepancies evidence of multiple authorship. Unitarians have sometimes felt compelled to deny, rather unpersuasively, that they exist at all. A different approach has been to consider these temporal peculiarities mistakes made by a poet immersed in oral tradition.[45] But the *Iliad* does not repeatedly lose its bearings in its opening books; it evokes the early stages of the war by the use of motifs that obviously belong to a different chronological setting. The evocation, of course, does not exclude or interfere with the successful functioning of these episodes of the primary narration (e.g., for the *teichoskopia*: Roisman 2006). The secondary use of motifs, however, can trigger recognition of the primary motifs belonging to the traditional narrative of the whole war. Comparable is reflection of events that

occur after the end of the poem, like the death of Achilles and the fall of Troy, in the later books of the *Iliad*. Homeric reflection of Trojan War events that occurred before the start of the narrative (external analepsis, in narratological terms) and after the end of the narrative (external prolepsis) can thereby be achieved.

From this perspective, chronological inappropriateness in the *Iliad* is a narratological manipulation of time; the complete story of the war is suggested by the narration of one incident. But there is more to the phenomenon than an efficient narration of multiple events. The *Iliad*'s allusions to Trojan War material suggest the motivations and consequences of its characters' actions, as Kullmann has brilliantly argued (2000 [originally 1968]). The inescapable past and the unavoidable future become conflated with the present, and the human condition in the *Iliad* is depicted as an intense temporal implosion of long-standing causality and looming destiny.

If motif transference is employed in the *Iliad* to suggest the whole war, then it should also have active significance when applied to the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. What has been portrayed as mistakes discernible only to the critic are better seen as signposts recognizable by the audience. Classic neoanalysts have recognized the allusive potential of motif transference when considering Iliadic reflection of the whole Trojan War, as opposed to the death of Achilles *fabula*. Kullmann's monumental book of 1960 exhaustively explored the *Iliad*'s direct and indirect use of the whole of the Trojan War saga, sometimes suggesting significant meaning.[46] More recently "post-neoanalysts" have extended the potential of allusive potential to other forms motif reflection.[47] When Homeric poetry imports cyclic mythopoetic motifs in a complex and transformative manner (one that I call *metacyclic*), this is not stealing or accidental misuse; it is the employment of traditional material into a new context so as to evoke the source context. Resulting contextual inappropriateness is not unskillful composition but rather a trigger toward recognition of another narrative. In this way, Homeric poetry achieves a sophisticated type of intertextuality.

An argument that favors the active significance of motif transference may be found objectionable by those who suspect that this implies intentionalism. Identification of an author's intent was deemed inappropriate in New Criticism and had little chance of revival in later theory that proclaimed the death of the author.[48] Over time, the critical focus has moved away from author to the text and on to the audience receiving the text. Intertextual studies that emphasize literary sources and influences often find this situation awkward: if there are observable connections between one text and another, how did they get there? Classicists pursuing intertextuality have sometimes found it necessary to raise the possibil-

ity of authorial intention, usually with varying degrees of regret, embarrassment, or self-justification.[49]

Neoanalysis in its classic form is not a proponent of allusive intentionalism, because it stresses adaptation of received material, not reflection of it. Nonetheless, the belief of classic neoanalysis in a creative poet who transforms pre-Homeric material is extremely intentionalist. The question might fairly be asked whether my revision of this methodology simply replaces one type of intentionalism with another. And, if so, does not a significant, intertextual type of motif transference imply a master poet "Homer," a conception I resist? My argument posits a distinctive "metacyclic" nature for Homeric poetry, but it does not claim to discern the intention of a single, monumental poet. What is assumed is that the Homeric poems functioned within the cyclic tradition to such a degree that the full potential of their poetics was dependent on it. Any poem about the Trojan War functioned within the cyclic tradition to some extent, but I have focused on motif transference as particularly characteristic of Homeric poetry. Yet however admirable a technique Homeric motif transference may be, it is not an isolated phenomenon. Other aspects in traditional composition are comparable.[50]

In the preceding discussion, motif transference is related to various types of repetition, reflection, and doubling, all of which are common in oral traditions. In a general way, motif transference is comparable to any instance of one thing being compared to a different thing. The Homeric simile, for example, involves the explicit comparison of one set of characteristics to another.[51] This may seem at first to have no relation to motif transference, but there are instructive parallels. In the simile, correspondence is established between certain key elements, but many aspects remain dissimilar. In motif transference, correspondence also occurs (though it is not signaled explicitly) through the correspondence of certain key elements, with most aspects of the respective situations remaining dissimilar. The primary or secondary status of motifs in motif transference also has its parallel in similes, where the primary situation of what is well known, often the natural world or civilian human existence, is used as a model of orientation for less readily comprehended situations.

Also relevant are internal digressions within the Homeric poems that mirror themes of the main narrative (Alden 2000). Mythological paradigms in particular provide an interesting comparison to motif transference.[52] This is not just because the content of both devices involves traditional myth. Both also add metaphoric (i.e., paradigmatic) significance to Homeric poetics. Paradigms involve the use of known traditional tales by characters in the poems in order to make a point about a current situation. As with motif transference, extra-Iliadic myth is

brought into relation to the narrative within the poem (though explicitly). The whole process depends on recognition that the paradigm and the Homeric situation have certain key elements in common, despite much variation in particulars. There is also a discernible distinction between primary and secondary instances of motifs, as in motif transference, though there is an inversion of direction, because secondary motifs will be added to the manipulated extra-Iliadic myth so that it reflects the primary situation of the Iliadic narrative.

For example, many scholars have noticed that Phoinix's parable of Meleager in book 9 of the *Iliad* resembles Achilles' situation.[53] If the parallel was only that two heroes withdraw from battle, that would be of little significance, for withdrawal from battle seems to be a typical motif. Besides its association with Achilles and Meleager, the motif is mentioned briefly in the *Iliad* in connection with Paris (6.325–631) and Aeneas (13.459–461). The withdrawal of Meleager, however, is not compatible with other aspects of his story that seem traditional, and Phoinix's account of it contains details that belong to the story of Achilles. It seems that Phoinix (and, at a higher narratological level, the narrator) has transformed a traditional story so that its circumstances reflect those of the *Iliad*. It is especially notable that the name of Meleager's wife, "Kleopatra," corresponds inversely to the name "Patroklos."[54] Phoinix's tale is designed to entice Achilles back onto the battlefield by outlining the negative consequences of the rejection of entreaties. On another level, it probably foreshadows Achilles' later decision to rejoin the fighting, and perhaps even his death, as an audience with knowledge of the Meleager tale would recognize.[55]

There are certainly differences between the poetic techniques of mythological paradigms and motif transference. With paradigms, the correspondence is made explicit; with motif transference, it is implicit. The direction of movement from primary to secondary instances of motifs is also different. The myths in paradigms tend to be from cycles different from the Trojan War, often featuring heroes of past generations, whereas the motif transference of classic neoanalysis involves episodes in the Trojan War story. Still, the similarities are striking. Both mythological paradigms and motif transference involve some manipulation of detail to enhance correspondence (with paradigms, manipulation of traditional narrative occurs as it is retold so as to reflect the situation within the poem; with motif transference, manipulation of the poem's narrative is done to reflect traditional narrative). Mythological paradigms and motif transference are distinct yet comparable poetic phenomena.

The point is that motif transference is not some sort of idiosyncratic, unparalleled technique, on the evidence of which an isolated "genius" must be deduced.

Nor does the technology of writing need to be assumed. Motif transference certainly is a subtle poetic device, and it can be considered the key component of the "metacyclic" nature of Homeric poetry. Yet it did not come out of thin air. Rather, it grew out of methods of comparison, reflection, and doubling that were inherent in oral traditions and is derived from observable techniques in early epic (and, undoubtedly, in storytelling in general). Motif transference is traditional at its core, even if the degree to which the *Iliad* is "metacyclic" seems distinctive on the basis of the available evidence. Recognition of the sophistication of motif transference does not lead to a conclusion that the *Iliad* is independent from previous traditions. It suggests rather a dependence on the cyclic traditions of the Trojan War, to the extent that the poetic strategies of the *Iliad* assume an audience that brings to the poem a sensitive and alert knowledge of traditional myth.

The reception of Homeric motif transference by the audience is of greatest importance to my argument, for its allusive significance does not exist unless perceived by the listener. We will have a better sense of the early significance of Homeric poetics by trying to comprehend the parameters of its reception in the Archaic Age, or the "horizon of expectations" of that time, to use the well-known phrase of Jauss.[56] A central aspect of early reception to Homeric poetry must have been the knowledge of mythological traditions that the audience brought to a performance. The Homeric poems were not performed within a narrative vacuum but within the context of traditional myth. The collective mythological knowledge of the audience provided a "horizon of expectations" that would have necessarily affected its reception. Motif transference would trigger significant recognition of mythological information known collectively by the audience.

For the ancient audience familiar with the whole story of the Trojan War, motif transference as described by neoanalysts would be readily appreciated and would have an active, not passive, effect. The modern audience cannot as easily sense this effect because it does not know traditional myth as well. Critics from Aristarchos on have been dismissive of the non-Homeric story of the Trojan War, seeing it as a threat to their conception of Homer's originality.[57] But a version of literary history that portrays "Homer" as the inventive head of epic tradition consisting of a handful of bards should not distract us from a more anthropological appreciation of performance culture in the Archaic Age. Familiarity with non-Homeric material can generally be assumed for an ancient Greek audience, which at an early date would be immersed in the living oral traditions of mythology, especially as expressed by oral epic.[58]

This does not mean that motif transference produced meaning in the same way for every audience, or all members of any audience. The Homeric poems are

eternally open to all the meanings that any audience will find in it. Different ancient audiences will have had different levels of ability and interest. Performer and audience would need to negotiate the process of communication, and much would depend on the knowledge, alertness, and cooperation of an audience at any given performance. The negotiation of meaning would not be simple, and there would be many potential complications of Homeric allusion. The Homeric approach to traditional myth was complex and could include suppression, ad hoc invention, or even "misdirection" of the audience. Some, rather than being inspired to seek out allusion, might have accepted the presented narrative unquestioningly, perhaps out of generosity to the performer.[59] The narrative problems that neoanalysts stress—"triggers" to external narrative, in my analysis—can be ignored or tolerated, with an absence of significance resulting.

I do not intend to privilege an exceptionally skilled ancient audience, or to fetishize an original, preferred meaning to the *Iliad*. A modern reader uninformed of mythological traditions is certainly able to comprehend the *Iliad*'s presentation of its own story, but a historical sense of the cyclic context of the Homeric poems can provide a more complete sense of the Homeric poem's allusive potential. Reconstruction of pre-Homeric myth, uncertain and clumsy as it may be, is a hermeneutic means for us to approach the *Iliad* with some of the knowledge of the ancient audience. The attempt to reconstruct the death and afterlife of Achilles in chapter 2 is intended to allow a modern reader to approximate the ancient audience ability to appreciate the intertextuality of motif transference. The intertextuality is not between texts but between the Homeric poems and pre-Homeric oral traditions. These traditions cannot be equated with particular poems, and it is not text that is transferred, in the sense of words and phrases, but rather notional motifs (consisting of narrative actions) that have traditionally been applied to specific heroes.

Neoanalysis can no longer be practiced with the textual assumptions inherent in source criticism or with "weak" intertextuality. And neoanalyst attempts to trace the process of motif transference are not compatible with postmodern intertextuality, at least as it is often conceived. Yet, within this range of possibilities, which is indeed rather wide, neoanalyst arguments can be reinterpreted as demonstrating an "intertextuality" between Homeric epic and mythological traditions (i.e., cyclic traditions, but not necessarily specific cyclic epics). Intertextuality so described may sound imprecise, but my discussion of motif transference has sought to provide certain parameters for the process of the phenomenon. As neoanalysts have established, motif transference is recognizable when specific motifs, usually bound to the context of a heroic myth, are moved into the second-

ary context of Homeric poetry. Recognition is the key issue, however. Whereas classic neoanalysis has reserved discernment of motif transference to the scholar, it is more probable that the reflection would be recognized by a mythologically informed audience. In this case, motif transference is more than coincidental, casual, or merely vestigial. It is significant allusion, at least in the manner that oral intertextuality can be understood in the Archaic Age.

The Death of Achilles in the Iliad

We have established how the death of Achilles could have been narrated in pre-Homeric myth (chapter 2), examined direct references to the death of Achilles in the *Iliad* (chapter 3), and considered the nature of intertextuality in the Archaic Age (chapter 4). Now it is time to examine possible reflections of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles in the *Iliad,* as effected through "motif transference." This chapter evaluates neoanalyst arguments for motif transference, and the next chapter argues that the *Iliad*'s intertextual employment of the death of Achilles *fabula* is more systematic than has been realized.

Though my analysis is grounded on the previous work of neoanalysts, I disagree with their view that Patroklos reflects Antilochos. This assumption lies at the heart of what I have called the "vengeance theory." In the vengeance theory, Achilles' revenge on Hektor for his slaying of Patroklos is thought to be modeled on Achilles' supposed vengeance on Memnon for the slaying of Antilochos. Yet there is little evidence that Antilochos was central to myth about Achilles and Memnon, or that Patroklos is modeled on Antilochos.[1] It is true that the death of Antilochos was commonly part of myth about Memnon, as was indicated in chapter 2 (motif B). But the focus of the episode seems to have been on Antilochos's rescue of his father Nestor from Memnon. It is for this reason that Antilochos's death became renowned in antiquity; there is no evidence that it was the motivation for Achilles to fight Memnon, or that Achilles had previously avoided the Aithiopian king. Several passages in the *Iliad* indicate that Achilles was fond of Antilochos, but there is no suggestion that Antilochos is the model for Patroklos.[2]

In the following discussion of the merits of the neoanalyst proposals for motif correspondence, I list motifs, as they occur in the *Iliad,* that neoanalysts commonly believe were transferred from the story of the death of Achilles. Identification of their correspondence to the *fabula* of the death of Achilles is made through the lettering system I employed in chapter 2.

Book 1

Achilles withdraws from battle after a quarrel with Agamemnon *(~A).*

The refusal of Achilles to fight in the first book of the *Iliad* is thought to correspond to a supposed withdrawal by Achilles (following a prediction by Thetis) in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. The neoanalyst "vengeance theory" requires a withdrawal of Achilles so that the death of Antilochos can be construed as Achilles' motive for reentering battle. In Schadewaldt's reconstructed "Memnonis," for example, Achilles withdraws from battle because of a prediction from his mother.[3]

The comparison between the Iliadic withdrawal of Achilles and an alleged withdrawal in the death of Achilles *fabula* is problematic for several reasons. First, the motif of withdrawal seems to be a typical one, and thus priority would be difficult to establish between two instances of it (chapter 4). Second, Achilles' withdrawal in the *Iliad* and the supposed withdrawal in the death of Achilles *fabula* do not correspond well. One withdrawal results from anger arising in a quarrel; the other is supposed to result from a prophecy about the future. In the *Iliad,* Nestor and subsequently Patroklos suggest prophecy instead of anger as a motive for Achilles' withdrawal, as we saw in chapter 3, but Achilles' angry denial underscores that the two motives are very different, and it is difficult to see how one situation could inspire the other.[4] Schadewaldt's graph (1965:173) of corresponding motifs between the *Iliad* and the "Memnonis" connects the scene of his "Memnonis" in which Achilles withdraws to book 1 of the *Iliad* with a dotted line, apparently a hesitant version of the usual line of dashes. Schoeck (1961:9, 14) provides the clearest expression of the correspondence, but not without some embarrassment ("allerdings aus einem völlig andern Grunde").

Third, and most important, it is not at all clear that Achilles did withdraw from battle in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. Although the summary of the *Aithiopis* by Proklos seems to indicate that Thetis gave a prediction to Achilles (see motif A of the *fabula*), it says nothing of a withdrawal. There is no positive evidence that Achilles withdrew from battle in the death of Achilles *fabula.* The argument that he did suffers from the circular logic that is sometimes present in the thought of neoanalysts. It is methodologically unsound to reconstruct a withdrawal in the death of Achilles *fabula* from a passage of the *Iliad* with no other evidence and then conclude that the passage of the *Iliad* is a reflection of that reconstruction.

A fundamental assumption of the vengeance theory, that the withdrawal of Achilles in the *Iliad* is modeled on a withdrawal of Achilles in the death of Achilles *fabula,* is very unlikely.

Book 8
Nestor is saved by Diomedes from Hektor *(~B).*

At *Iliad* 8.80–115, Nestor's chariot becomes disabled and Hektor approaches threateningly; the life of the old man is saved by the intervention of Diomedes. Neoanalysts compare this scene to the rescue of Nestor from Memnon by Antilochos in the death of Achilles *fabula.*[5] It is supposed that a famous event in Nestor's life has been transferred chronologically to an earlier time.

The two scenes are remarkably similar; in both a horse of Nestor is wounded by an arrow shot by Paris, in both a champion of Troy attacks the helpless old man, and in both a younger Greek arrives to ward off the danger. A difficulty with the neoanalyst argument is that there is nothing really inappropriate about the rescue of Nestor in the *Iliad* that might reveal that the scene is secondary. The story of the rescue of Nestor by his own son is more dramatic than the episode in book 8, and neoanalysts often argue that Homeric secondary motifs are weaker in effect than their primary instances, but this is a subjective argument.

What about the correspondence between Diomedes and Antilochos? Antilochos could not die in book 8, for that would contradict tradition. Yet Diomedes is not killed in this scene; if there is motif transference, why not use Antilochos as the rescuer? Whitman (1958:166) suggests that the figure of Antilochos is well enough suggested by Diomedes, citing Nestor's adoption of a fatherly tone toward him at 9.53–59. It is also true that motif transference need not be exact and can focus on a significant "pivot" of correspondence without trying to re-create the details of the primary context. If a famous event in the old man's mythological life is meant to be evoked, this might feasibly be done without the presence of Antilochos.

I am inclined to agree, with reservations, that the *Iliad* scene may at least partially correspond to an episode in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles that usually belonged there.

Book 11
Diomedes is shot in the foot by Paris *(~E).*

Neoanalysts have sometimes argued that the wounding of Diomedes by Paris reflects the lower wounding of Achilles by Paris.[6] The idea seems plausible because Diomedes takes the place of Achilles in the middle books of the *Iliad,* as is

commonly recognized (chapter 4). The removal of Diomedes from military action for the rest of the poem corresponds to the later permanent loss experienced by the Achaians when their very best warrior is slain after suffering a lower leg wound.[7] Fenik challenged the neoanalyst interpretation of the passage by noting that, although a foot wound is unparalleled in the *Iliad,* the structure of the scene is similar to scenes in book 5 (95–120, 280–296) in which Pandaros encounters and wounds Diomedes. He therefore concluded that the wounding of Diomedes in book 11 was composed of typical motifs and is not a reflection of the wounding of Achilles.[8] Kullmann replied that the unusual wound was a specific motif that belonged to Achilles, even if it was in the midst of a typical narrative sequence. Therefore, he proposed, the wounding of Diomedes still reflected the wounding of Achilles. This is a reasonable argument, though it assumes that a similar wounding of Achilles existed in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles.

A lower-leg wounding does seem to be prominent in early tradition, as we saw in chapter 1, but not necessarily involving a uniquely vulnerable heel. That Diomedes' foot is wounded is no hindrance to seeing the scene as a reference to the "Achilles' heel" motif (the main objection of Hainsworth 1993 ad loc.), because we have seen that the motif does not necessitate a heel. Unique vulnerability does not seem to be associated with Achilles in the early mythological tradition. The wounding of Diomedes in the foot by Paris, however, could be a reflection of a story involving the immobilization of Achilles by Paris.

Diomedes does not die in book 11, but his death at that time is precluded by tradition, and the motif transference need not go beyond the "pivot" of the significant lower wound. The focus on Odysseus and Ajax in the following scenes does not suggest their rescue of the corpse of Achilles in the *fabula,* as neoanalysts have sometimes supposed (see Fenik 1968:232–233). Perhaps a brief reflection of Achilles' death by the wounding of Diomedes exists on a secondary level to the enactment of Achilles' death by the later slaying of Patroklos (Mueller 1984:53).

Book 16

Achilles warns Patroklos before battle *(~A).*

The brief report by Proklos about the words by Thetis to Achilles in the *Aithiopis* is unclear, and Proklos is the only source for this incident. In chapter 2, however, I tentatively concluded that it was part of pre-Homeric myth and that the comments of Thetis were prophetic remarks about the impending death of Achilles. Neoanalysts have compared this seeming prophecy with Achilles' words at the

beginning of *Iliad* 16.[9] As Thetis apparently speaks to Achilles in the death of Achilles *fabula* before he goes into battle, Achilles speaks to Patroklos before he goes into battle. Achilles offers no prediction (and it is not clear that Thetis does in the *Aithiopis*), but he does offer a warning to Patroklos. He tells him, among other things, to return after routing the Trojans (87) and not to lead the troops toward Troy (91–92), lest a god oppose him (93–94). He then goes on to specify Apollo as the god who favors the Trojans (94) and again urges Patroklos to turn back in time (95–96). At 18.13–14 Achilles claims he warned Patroklos not to fight Hektor (cf. Poseidon's advice to Achilles at 21.293–297 to turn back from the walls once he kills Hektor), but this cannot be found in his words in book 16. Achilles' warning cannot be used to reconstruct a warning from Thetis to Achilles, but we saw in chapter 1 that she typically tries to turn her son away from his destiny.

If Patroklos represents Achilles in this warning scene, does that mean Achilles represents Thetis? I have noted that a motif may be transferred incompletely, and so Patroklos may be considered the pivot of an incomplete motif transference. Yet there is reason to picture the relationship between Achilles and Patroklos as a mother-son relationship (Janko 1992:315–317). Achilles refers to himself as a mother bird at 9.323–324. At 16.7–10 Achilles, confronted by Patroklos, compares him to a daughter pestering her mother (and therefore himself to the mother). It is therefore not absurd to see Achilles as playing the role of his own mother to his *altera persona* Patroklos in the passage at the beginning of book 16, if only in a very general sense.

The scene at the beginning of book 16 does seem to suggest the meeting between Thetis and Achilles before his duel with Memnon. Some neoanalysts ignore this correspondence or mention it only in passing, for the vengeance theory stresses correspondence between Patroklos and Antilochos, not Patroklos and Achilles. In addition, Patroklos does not withdraw after the warning by Achilles, so the scene at the beginning of book 16 poorly reflects the neoanalyst conception of what happened in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. Without the distraction of the misguided vengeance theory, it becomes clearer that motif transference seems to be at play in the book 16 scene between Achilles and Patroklos.

Patroklos kills Sarpedon *(~B).*

Neoanalysts commonly think that Patroklos corresponds to Achilles when he kills Sarpedon and that, accordingly, Sarpedon is a Memnon figure.[10] Like Achilles in the death of Achilles *fabula,* Patroklos meets a foreign ally of Troy and defeats him. It is difficult to believe that Patroklos, as the attendant of Achilles, tradition-

ally accomplished this feat. Patroklos seems quite capable of performing chores faithfully, as he does in book 9, and perhaps fighting beside Achilles, but he should not normally perform the heroic deeds of book 16.[11] It therefore seems likely that the heroic deeds of Achilles have been transferred to the character of Patroklos.

I doubt that the character of Sarpedon is a Homeric invention (see Burgess 2001a:218 n.95), even if the *Iliad* is idiosyncratic in its depiction of Patroklos killing the Lycian hero. Sarpedon is, like Memnon, a foreign defender of Troy, and this generally reinforces the correspondence between Patroklos and Achilles. But there is not much in the narration of Sarpedon's death that specifically corresponds to Memnon's death. Scales are mentioned at 16.658 to describe Hektor's recognition that the tide has turned, but that is some time after Sarpedon's death and is not really comparable to the famous use of scales during the duel between Achilles and Memnon (see below).[12] It is notable, however, that there is a scene in Olympus before Sarpedon's death in which his fate is at least said to be in doubt. That scene might be generally comparable to the use of scales at Olympus in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles.

Sarpedon's corpse is removed from the field by divine intervention *(~C)*.

A comparison between the removal of Sarpedon's corpse and the removal of Memnon's corpse is standard in neoanalyst research.[13] The view that the motif of translation by Thanatos and Hypnos originally belonged to Memnon, not Sarpedon, arose in the nineteenth century on the basis of iconographical evidence.[14] Sometimes in early Greek art, as on the famous Euphronios vase (*LIMC,* "Sarpedon," no. 4*; New York MMA 1972.11.10), Thanatos and Hypnos are depicted carrying the corpse of Sarpedon. Such scenes are in apparent illustration of *Iliad* 16. 681–683, where it is stated that they took his corpse to Lycia. Other images show Thanatos and Hypnos with Memnon, as I noted in my reconstruction of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. Some early vases without inscriptions can be interpreted as depicting either Memnon or Sarpedon with Thanatos and Hypnos.[15]

Neoanalysts and their predecessors have thought that iconography provides ample testimony of the removal of Memnon by Thanatos and Hypnos. They therefore assumed that art commonly associated the motif with both heroes and concentrated on the question of priority. Kullmann (1960:34) argued that the combination of Death and Sleep signifies that the corpse will awaken from his death, which is appropriate only for a hero who will receive immortality (i.e.,

Memnon, not Sarpedon). Davies (1989a:57) argued quite differently that it is illogical for Thanatos to transport the immortalized Memnon (but he does traditionally die, and death precedes most cases of heroic immortality; see chapter 7). Some neoanalysts have tried to argue that Thanatos and Hypnos are brothers of Eos and thus would have originally been associated with her son, not with Sarpedon. The genealogy, however, is questionable. [16]

Clark and Coulson (1978:70–73) argued that because some depictions of Sarpedon with Thanatos and Hypnos on vases do not literally follow the *Iliad* (e.g., other characters are added to the scene), they must be modeled on myth about Memnon. This is an interesting point, though it assumes that Sarpedon's translation did not exist independently of Homer. If it did, the iconography could simply be more evidence of non-Homeric traditions surviving the supposedly overwhelming influence of Homer in the Archaic Age.[17] But if the *Iliad* was the first to place Sarpedon in the setting of the Trojan War, as is sometimes supposed, then his translation would have originated in the *Iliad,* not in some non-Homeric tradition, and iconographical images of the scene would be ultimately dependent on the *Iliad,* even if varying in details. The relatively few certain scenes in which Memnon is definitely carried by Thanatos and Hypnos might then be considered imitations of Sarpedon's translation. It is also possible that translation by Thanatos and Hypnos was a typical motif, applicable to any hero.[18]

One cannot claim with confidence that the handling of the body of Sarpedon by Thanatos and Hypnos is derived from the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. The evidence of art does not clearly establish that the motif of Memnon's removal by Thanatos and Hypnos inspired Homer's portrayal of Sarpedon's translation. Perhaps Thanatos and Hypnos were not originally even involved in early Greek myth about the translation of Memnon. There is no literary evidence that they were, and the iconographical representations more commonly depict Eos with the body of Memnon (see motif C of the *fabula*). What is certain is that the body of Memnon was somehow removed from Troy through divine intervention, just as the body of Sarpedon is removed through divine intervention in the *Iliad*. Sarpedon might be said to correspond generally to Memnon in this respect.

Patroklos routs the Trojans and attacks Troy *(~D).*

Neoanalysts compare the attack on Troy by Patroklos with the one made by Achilles in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles.[19] After Patroklos successfully routs the Trojans, he attacks Troy at 16.698–709. The narrator remarks that Patroklos would have taken the city if Apollo had not prevented him; Thetis at 18.454–456

makes the same claim when speaking to Hephaistos. Apollo convinces Patroklos to retire, but he does not retire far; at 17.403–409 it is reported that the battle over his corpse is beneath the walls. In the same passage Achilles is said to have believed Patroklos would turn back from the wall, which implies that the opposite occurred. Perhaps Patroklos himself provides the best testimony that he died beneath the city walls. At 23.80–81 the words "καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ μοῖρα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, / τείχει ὕπο Τρώων εὐηφενέων ἀπολέσθαι" spoken by the shade of Patroklos, essentially mean "It is fated for you also (besides me) to die under the wall of the rich Trojans." When he attacks the city Patroklos is acting like Achilles will do shortly before he dies. It seems that we are invited to make this connection when Apollo says to Patroklos that Troy is not fated to be taken by either him or Achilles (16.707–709).

Andromache recalls a joint attack on the walls of Troy by a group of Greek leaders (6.433–439), but there is no mythological account of a single hero besides Achilles attacking the walls of Troy. Once again, it is surprising that someone who is normally the attendant of Achilles should perform such heroics. The attack on Troy can be considered a specific motif, belonging to Achilles, which has been transferred to the Patroklos of the Iliad.

Patroklos is killed by Hektor *(~B);*
Patroklos is killed by Apollo, Euphorbos, and Hektor *(~E).*

It is an unwieldy aspect of the vengeance theory that one passage in the *Iliad* reflects two scenes in the Achilles-Memnon story at once. The death of Patroklos is compared to the slaying of Antilochos by Memnon and also to the slaying of Achilles by Apollo and Paris. So Patroklos is thought to correspond to Antilochos and to Achilles *at the same moment.*[20] Multiple reflection also occurs in other neoanalyst arguments (e.g., both Sarpedon and Hektor reflect Memnon), as has been pointed out.[21] But only in the case of Patroklos do neoanalysts argue for one Iliadic character reflecting two non-Homeric characters at one and the same time. If we were only looking for sources, as is typical of classic neoanalysis, then it would be tenable to find multiple influences on one character. For allusive signification of non-Homeric narrative through motif transference, the neoanalyst interpretation is too polysemic.

This conclusion is reached in recognition of the circumstances of performance culture in the Archaic Age. Classic neoanalysis in its focus on compositional origins was free of any concern for reception. Post-neoanalysts are more optimistic in that respect and so might complain that my restrictions are insuffi-

ciently celebratory of Homeric poetics or overly pessimistic about the ancient audience. My arguments about motif transference, however, assume a high level of complexity in Homeric poetics, as well as an ideal ancient audience that is mythologically informed and highly engaged in the *Iliad*'s performance. The credibility of the vengeance theory depended on the disregard of classic neoanalysts for the possible significance of motif transference; attempts to reestablish the theory in terms of allusive intertextuality risk anachronistic retrojection of literate poetics into the *Iliad*. The whole matter is most readily set aside if we reject the myth reconstruction that allows Antilochos to be seen as a prototype of Patroklos, as I think we must. Beyond that, the issue raises the question of how meaning was engendered by early Greek epic. Fluid and subtle as the negotiation between performance and reception must have been in the Archaic Age, it still required certain parameters for the production of meaning. In my judgment, the thesis of Patroklos as Antilochos/Achilles fails that test.

First, let us examine the proposal that the death of Patroklos corresponds to the death of Antilochos.[22] There is a general correspondence in that Antilochos is killed by a foreign defender of Troy, and Patroklos is killed by the prime Trojan warrior. But Antilochos dies while defending Nestor, which does not at all correspond to the death scene of Patroklos. The comparison really depends on the assumption that Patroklos is an Antilochos figure. They are not dissimilar, it is true; both Patroklos and Antilochos are friends of Achilles, and both their slayers are killed by Achilles. Yet this argument is insufficient for seeing Patroklos as an *altera persona* of Antilochos.

The neoanalyst proposal that the death of Patroklos corresponds to the death of Achilles, on the other hand, has been widely accepted.[23] Like Achilles, Patroklos not only is attacking Troy but also dies at the walls of Troy. Patroklos is first stunned by Apollo, then wounded by Euphorbos, before being finished off by Hektor. The role of Apollo in the slaying of Patroklos corresponds to his role in the slaying of Achilles. At 16.721–725 Apollo in disguise urges Hektor to kill Patroklos, promising glory from Apollo as a result. He subsequently knocks off the armor of Patroklos with a blow. The addition of Euphorbos adds to the correspondence between the death of Achilles and the death of Patroklos. Portrayed as physically attractive (17.51–52) yet cowardly in his attack on Patroklos, Euphorbos is to some degree reminiscent of Paris.[24]

Apollo slays Meleager in one version of his death, which has suggested to some that the participation of Apollo in the death of a hero is typological.[25] It is not clear at all, on the basis of the evidence that we have, that the version of Meleager's death by Apollo has any close correspondence to the death of Achilles. Even

if it was, and we concluded that the agency of Apollo was typical for heroic death, the employment of any heroic motif, even a typical one, is inappropriate for a character of Patroklos's status. And correspondence between the slaying of Achilles' *therapon* and the slaying of Achilles is bound to be suggestive.

The deaths of Patroklos and Achilles are not exactly alike. Patroklos is slain by spears, whereas Achilles is slain by bow and arrow; Euphorbos and Hektor are the slayers of Patroklos, not Paris. Do these differences negate the correspondence? The *Iliad* need not, and should not, preserve all of the details in extra-Iliadic material when motif transference occurs. If the Homeric poem had rigidly reproduced the traditional death of Achilles in book 16, then a different *Iliad* would have resulted. If Paris killed Patroklos, as he kills Achilles in tradition, then the *menis* of Achilles would be directed at Paris, not Hektor, and we lose the last third of the poem as we know it. As well, by tradition Paris is killed by Philoktetes (as in the summary of the *Ilias Mikra* by Proklos), not Achilles. The similarities between the death of Patroklos and the death of Achilles seem strong enough for an early audience to recognize, though such correspondence is not allowed to interfere with the *Iliad*'s narration of its own story. It is not unlikely that Hektor traditionally kills Patroklos; if so, then the *Iliad* presents an expanded version of this event, augmented so as to suggest the traditional death of Achilles.

Book 17
There is a battle over the corpse of Patroklos, which is eventually rescued *(~F)*.

Most of book 17 describes a battle over the corpse of Patroklos, and neoanalysts compare it with the similar battle over the corpse of Achilles in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles.[26] The general similarity is obvious, but battles over corpses are common in the *Iliad,* and it is probable that such scenes occurred frequently in epic poetry. The motif of battle over a slain warrior is a typical one, and it may be no more than a coincidence that it occurs in the *Iliad* with the corpse of Patroklos and also in the death of Achilles *fabula* with the corpse of Achilles.

There may be, however, corresponding specific details between the two manifestations of the motif. First, at *Odyssey* 24.41 it is specified that the battle over the corpse of Achilles lasted a long time, in fact all day. The battle over Patroklos is also very long; at *Iliad* 17.384 it is said to last all day. Other battles over corpses in the *Iliad* do not share the intensity and duration of these two. Second, in both battles Ajax kills a Trojan who has tried to tie a thong to the ankle of the corpse in order to drag it off.[27] The Chalkidian vase that pictured the battle over the dead

Achilles (*LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 850* = "Alexandros" no. 90) presents this very moment: Ajax stabs Glaukos, who is trying to attach a thong to the ankle of Achilles. No other source specifies this detail, but many indicate that Ajax killed Glaukos (see motif G in my reconstruction in chapter 3). At *Iliad* 17.288–303 Ajax kills Hippothoos as he tries to drag off the corpse of Patroklos with a thong. The Trojan killed is different, but of course Glaukos cannot be killed here if tradition required him to live on to be killed later by Ajax in the battle over the body of Achilles. The location of the wound of Glaukos on the vase is different from the location of the wound of Hippothoos in the *Iliad,* but we need not seek correspondence in minor details; the correspondence is remarkable enough.

Another possible correspondence is the general role of Ajax. In both battles, he is the prime defender of the corpse. This is not remarkable in itself, for Ajax is often pictured making a brave stand against attacking Trojans in the *Iliad.* Schoeck's attempt to categorize all such scenes as reflections of the battle over Achilles is very dubious.[28] Neoanalysts have also compared the storm wind that ends the battle over Achilles at *Odyssey* 24.41–42 to the mist that Zeus spreads over the sky during the battle over the corpse of Patroklos.[29] The correspondence does not seem strong; a storm wind is not very similar to mist. Mist is present at other times in the *Iliad* (notably at 16.567–568 during the battle over the corpse of Sarpedon, certainly not an Achilles figure). And whereas the storm wind in the *Odyssey* ends the battle over Achilles' corpse and helps the Greeks, in the *Iliad* mist is present throughout the battle and is a hindrance to the Greeks. At 16.567–568 Zeus sends mist to intensify the battle, not to end it, and at 17.645–646 Ajax famously pleads for Zeus to clear it up.

In their denouement, the two battle scenes are notably different. Ajax traditionally carries the corpse of Achilles to safety, but in *Iliad* 17 Menelaus and Meriones carry the corpse while Ajax continues to defend with Lokrian Ajax. If the battle in the *Iliad* reflects myth about the battle over Achilles' corpse, why would such changes be implemented for its ending? Odysseus, who traditionally defends while Ajax carries the corpse of Achilles, may be excused from this scene, for he has been wounded. Neoanalysts argue that Homer typically weakens the dramatic intensity of a prototype, thereby explaining why two warriors are depicted carrying the corpse of Patroklos, whereas only one carries that of Achilles. That type of explanation is not very convincing, and it does not explain the change of the role of Ajax (see motif F in chapter 2 for late testimony that also has Ajax defend—perhaps influenced by the *Iliad*'s variant reflection of the death of Achilles *fabula*). In this aspect, the two battles do not correspond, and one might even argue that the *Iliad*'s conception of the role of Ajax makes better sense.[30]

What should one conclude about the alleged correspondences between the two battles? These are two examples of a typical motif, a battle over a corpse. Yet one might wonder whether such a battle would normally arise over a figure of Patroklos's stature. The use of a typical heroic motif for Patroklos may be surprising enough to jar an audience into thinking of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles, especially because the *Iliad*'s portrayal of Patroklos contained specific motifs associated with Achilles earlier in book 16. And though there are differences between the two corpse battles, there are also some specific details (length of battle, use of thong, central role of Ajax) that encourage seeing a relationship between them.

Book 18

Thetis and the Nereids mourn, then visit a prostrate Achilles *(~G).*

The correspondence between the behavior of Thetis and the Nereids in book 18 and their mourning of the dead Achilles at his funeral is frequently noted.[31] Neoanalysts often point to discrepancies as evidence for the reuse of traditional material, and this method works especially well in this scene. The slave women might be expected to mourn the news of Patroklos's death (28–31), but it is remarkable that they run up to Achilles to grieve. Thetis and the Nereids perform mourning rituals in their cave in the sea for no other reason than that Achilles has cried out (35–64). Thetis then quite naturally goes to her son, but the Nereids oddly accompany her (65–69). They do not participate in the private conversation that follows and have to be rather awkwardly dismissed at the end of the scene.

In traditional myth, Thetis and the Nereids attended the funeral of Achilles. Apparently, this motif has been transferred into book 18 of the *Iliad.* Reinforcing this impression is a gesture of Thetis that is characteristic of funerals: she cradles her son's head in her hands (71). Andromache makes the same gesture with the corpse of Hektor at 24.724, and Thetis holds her dead son's head in the same way on a sixth-century vase that depicts the funeral.[32] Subsequently Achilles and Thetis talk as if the death of Achilles is imminent. In this scene, actions sublimely mimic a future that words then foretell and discuss. Time has been foreshortened, and the future exists concurrently with the present (Lynn-George 1988:212–216).

Some scholars have suggested that a sorrowful moment has triggered the employment of funeral typology and that the scene therefore need not reflect the funeral of Achilles in particular.[33] Typical or not, the misplacement of funeral elements here is remarkably sustained. And not all is typical; the mourning of Thetis and the Nereids belongs to one situation only, the famous funeral of Achilles. In book 1, Thetis similarly visits her sorrowful son, but she does not break into

mourning while under the sea, nor does she feel compelled to bring the Nereids with her.

The book 18 scene therefore seems like a significant evocation of the funeral of Achilles. Comparable to some degree is the mourning of Hektor by his household at *Iliad* 6.500. Here the mourning, however, is integrated into its context. The audience is prepared for this grief by Andromache's preceding pronouncement that Hektor will die if he returns to battle. The grieving household itself believes the death of Hektor is now inevitable, as the narrator explicitly points out (501–502). It is not a case of inconcinnity triggering evocation of a different time period, but the passage might be deemed an intratextual foreshadowing of the mourning over the body of Hektor in book 24. In contrast, the unusual behavior of Thetis and the Nereids goes beyond grieving and unusually mimics the rituals of a funeral. Their behavior is not motivated, for it precedes the conclusion of Thetis that Achilles will soon die. Thetis and the Nereids never even seem to realize the significance of their actions, though the audience may appreciate them.

Then there is also the behavior of Achilles. One phrase in this scene has gained much attention. At 18.26–27 Achilles is described lying in the dust, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίῃσι μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθεὶς / κεῖτο. A similar phrase is used at *Odyssey* 24.39–40 to describe the corpse of Achilles in the midst of the battle over him σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης / κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων. This version of the phrase, with a change of person for the verb, is also used to describe the corpse of Kebriones at 16.775–776.[34] On the basis of these Homeric passages, neoanalysts have argued that the phrase belongs to Achilles, specifically to a description of his corpse as a battle rages over it. They conclude that in the midst of the "funeral" of book 18 there is a textual quotation from the battle over Achilles' corpse.[35]

There are problems with the neoanalyst viewpoint, however. Why would a phrase "belonging" to the story of Achilles also be used for Kebriones in *Iliad* 16? This third Homeric occurrence of μέγας μεγαλωστί phraseology raises the issue of typology. From an oralist perspective, it looks as if the phraseology belongs to the typological scene of a battle over a corpse and not to any one character. It has also been noted that the mention of horsemanship here and in the example at *Odyssey* 24 is very appropriate for the charioteer Kebriones. However, horsemanship (ἱπποσύνη) can be attributed in the *Iliad* to any warrior for whom the chariot is employed. And there is no reason to think of Kebriones, who is not a major hero, as μέγας in a physical sense. "Great in his greatness" might be thought especially fitting for Achilles, certainly if one thinks of images of Ajax groaning under the weight of his huge corpse.

The phraseology in question is obviously flexible in its application, yet in the two examples outside of *Iliad* 18 (three, accepting Garner's [1993] hypothesis) the phrase is used of a corpse, and in two of these it is the corpse of Achilles that is described. In the very least, we can conclude that because the phrase was commonly associated with corpses, its use in book 18 contributes to the foreshadowing of Achilles' approaching death (Schein 1984:130). It may also be possible that the phraseology was commonly, if not exclusively, associated with the corpse of Achilles. Though we should not suppose that the passage in book 18 quotes a phrase from a single pre-Homeric text, we may wonder if the phraseology was traditionally used in oral epic poetry in reference to the slain Achilles. In that case, the resonance of its use in *Iliad* 18 would be very powerful indeed.

In any case, at the beginning of book 18 one gains an unmistakable impression that Achilles is already dead. After Achilles mimics a corpse, the hero and his mother will focus on the hero's approaching death. Thereafter, in the final books of the *Iliad,* the approaching death of Achilles will be frequently mentioned, as we saw in chapter 3. There will also be indirect yet profound intimations of the death of Achilles. Ambrosia and nectar are given to him by the gods when he refuses to eat (19.347–348, 353–354), substances also used to preserve corpses.[36] And in book 24 Priam's journey through the night to Achilles with Hermes as his guide is reminiscent of a *katabasis* to the underworld.[37] That would place Achilles in the midst of Hades, where we find Homer places him after his death in the *Odyssey.* These intimations and allusions contribute to the sense of collapsed time caused by motif transference. Patroklos has died in a manner that reflects the death of Achilles, and accordingly Achilles himself is portrayed as a dead man walking.

Thetis tells Achilles that he will die soon after Hektor's death *(~A).*

At 18.95–96 Thetis says to Achilles, ὠκύμοπος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι, οἶ' ἀγορεύεις· / αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἐτοῖμος. Neoanalysts compare this prediction to the prophecy that Thetis apparently gave to Achilles before his encounter with Memnon.[38] I favor the neoanalyst conclusion that Thetis made a prediction to Achilles before his encounter with Memnon (see motif A in chapter 2). My agreement with the neoanalyst position is limited, however, and clarification is necessary. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, I do not agree with the further conclusion that Achilles then withdrew from battle, a fundamental assumption of the vengeance theory. Nor do I believe that other Iliadic references to prophecy by Thetis to Achilles stem from a prophecy made in reference to Memnon, as neoanalysts tend to suspect; in chapter 3 it was argued that

the theme of Thetis's prophecies to Achilles in the *Iliad* is more likely analeptic, reflecting traditional myth of Achilles' prewar life.

The statement by Thetis in book 18, however, is unusual: what does Hektor's death have to do with that of Achilles? Was there a traditional link between Hektor's and Achilles' death (Reinhardt 1961:361)? That does not seem to be the implication of her words, and more probably the connection is an Iliadic invention (Mueller 1984:30–31). Furthermore, Achilles' death does *not* immediately follow Hektor's. It does not in the *Iliad,* and myth about the Trojan War indicates that many incidents are to pass before Achilles will be slain. Achilles' death will occur sometime in the future after Hektor's death, but Thetis's words imply a direct link to the death of Hektor. The link is not made elsewhere in the *Iliad,* either temporally or causally, though there are many references made to Achilles' death. Hephaistos does not specify a time when he speaks of Achilles' death (18.464–467). Xanthos says that Achilles' death is "near" (ἐγγύθεν, 19.409), but he does not mention Hektor. Hera says it will occur "later" (ὕστερον, 20.127). Achilles at 21.111 speaks of it in vague temporal terms. Hektor in his prophecy at 22.358–360 does not specify a time. Finally, Thetis at 24.132, after Hektor's death, says that it is "near" (ἄγχι). This word is used by the dying Patroklos in reference to Hektor's death (16.853). In that case, Hektor did indeed die the next day. However, already more than a day has passed after Hektor's death at the moment Thetis speaks in *Iliad* 24, and much more time will pass, by any reckoning, before Achilles' death.

Let us look at Achilles' words in book 18 and see whether he connects his death with Hektor's. In lines 88–93 he tells his mother that she will not receive him at home, because (ἐπεί) he no longer wishes to live except to take vengeance on Hektor. She then makes her pronouncement. In reply, he accepts her statement with the words αὐτίκα τεθναίην ("straightaway may I die," 98). Achilles is not concerned with the exact time of his death. His petulant repetition of his mother's word αὐτίκα signals refusal to be swayed by his mother's implied warning. He wishes to die because (ἐπεί) he did not defend Patroklos (98–99). Then (101–116) he says that because (ἐπεί) he is not returning home and did not save Patroklos and the other Greeks, he will go out and kill Hektor (114–115, after a long digression). He does not in this scene reject Thetis's assertion that his death will follow Hektor's, but he does not seem to think of Hektor's death as causing his own. As he continues to speak in this scene, he speaks of his death not as following Hektor's but as happening sometime in the future. He eventually says that he will accept it whenever the gods will it (115–116), a statement he repeats to Hektor (22.365–366).

Achilles' words in book 18 are characteristically resistant of logic. He ignores the issue of his fate and refuses to be concerned with the time of his death. In-

stead, he is consumed by the emotions of vengeance and guilt, becoming almost suicidally angry toward his own self.[39] It is striking that his words do not support Thetis's connection between his death and Hektor's, a connection not made anywhere else in the poem. In fact, the connection is untenable, and that is why neoanalysts speak of the words of Thetis as a discrepancy. Her words would make better sense if Achilles did indeed fall in battle after killing Hektor—as analysts have speculated for an ur-*Iliad*.[40] Achilles obviously does not die soon after killing Hektor. Speculation into the textual prehistory of the Homeric poem offers no satisfactory solution; more plausibly, the book 18 passage reflects an external, non-Homeric narrative—the *fabula* of the death of Achilles.

Critics of the neoanalyst position have balked at neoanalyst arguments that seem to suggest that Homer forgot which story he was composing.[41] Kullmann (1960:37–39) in reply invoked oral theory (surprisingly enough, given his belief that the *Iliad* was a literate composition), suggesting that any early poet could make a brief mistake. But though the words of Thetis are brief, they are very important, and it is not sufficient to conclude that "Homer nods" at this key moment. A more persuasive interpretation is at hand, that the remark by Thetis is a transferred motif that evokes the situation before the battle between Achilles and Memnon. There is no direct mention of Memnon, or Penthesileia for that matter; that is unnecessary, because evocation is achieved without it. It would also distract from the *Iliad*'s pretense that the death of Achilles is immediately forthcoming, somehow linked with Hektor's death. On one level intertextual reference is made outside the poem's boundaries to later events of the death of Achilles *fabula,* and on another level Homeric poetics creates the illogical illusion that Achilles' vengeance on Hektor is bound with his fate. With a few words Thetis briefly but ominously links the deaths of Achilles and Hektor and, at the same time, reflects her warning of Achilles before his battle with Memnon in the death of Achilles *fabula.* Once again, motif transference is effectively employed to suggest the future lurking behind the surface of the present.

Book 22
Achilles meets Hektor in battle and kills him; scales are used to signify the outcome *(~B).*

The correspondence between Hektor and Memnon in this scene is a basic assumption of neoanalyst argument. Hektor does not reflect Memnon to the extent that Sarpedon earlier did, but he is the champion of the Trojan side, as Memnon will later be, and he does wear the divine armor that he stripped off Patroklos, just

as Memnon wore divine armor when facing Achilles. As we saw at the beginning of book 18, Thetis briefly seems to conflate the duel between Achilles and Hektor with the duel between Achilles and Memnon. In a general sense, Hektor plays the role of Memnon.

This correspondence does not depend on the vengeance theory, which stresses a perceived similarity between Achilles' killing the slayer of his friend Antilochos in the death of Achilles *fabula* and Achilles' killing the slayer of Patroklos in the *Iliad.* Because Patroklos does not seem to be an Antilochos figure and Hektor does not correspond in detail to Memnon, it is misguided to portray Achilles' killing of Hektor as a reflection of a pre-Homeric story of vengeance. To be sure, Achilles does kill Hektor out of vengeance in the *Iliad,* but this act of vengeance arises out of themes developed in the *Iliad.* To the extent that Achilles is acting out his future duel with Memnon in this scene, Hektor is an *altera persona* of Memnon. Yet he is only a Memnon figure on the periphery of a motif transference that focuses on Achilles, who is the pivot.

The most potentially revealing indication that this scene reflects Achilles' duel with Memnon is the use of divine scales to signal Hektor's impending death (22. 209–213). Neoanalysts argue that this reflects the famous use of divine scales to signal the outcome of the duel between Achilles and Memnon.[42] They point out that the use of scales seems unnecessary for a duel in which the defeat of Hektor is a foregone conclusion. Memnon, on the other hand, wears divine armor and is the son of a goddess. Because he is equally matched with Achilles, the outcome of his duel with Achilles might be considered in doubt. Thus, neoanalysts argue, the motif fits the duel between Achilles and Memnon better than it does the duel between Achilles and Hektor and therefore existed in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles before it influenced the *Iliad*'s description of the death of Hektor.

Sometimes debate over this issue centers on the fact that in art Hermes usually holds the scales for the duel between Achilles and Memnon, whereas in the *Iliad* Zeus holds the scales. It is not clear why one or the other of these bearers should necessarily be prior to the other, and the depiction of Hermes in this role may be simply a variant introduced by Attic artists.[43] Variation also occurs in what is weighed by divine scales. It was noted in chapter 2 under motif B that the Homeric motif involved the weighing of *keres,* or fates, and thus technically is a *kerostasia,* whereas Aeschylean *Psychostasia* narrated the weighing of the souls (*psychai*) of Achilles and Memnon. It is not clear whether artists meant to depict *keres* or *psychai* in their representations of divine scales. We should not assume that the *kerostasia* motif is prior or more authentic to the *psychostasia* motif (see Burgess 2004b:34–36).

A more serious challenge to the neoanalyst position is the suggestion that the motif of divine scales is typical and cannot be considered to belong to the duel between Achilles and Memnon (Fenik 1968:119–120). The motif is used repeatedly in the *Iliad;* besides in book 22, it also occurs at 8.69–72, 16.658, and 19.223–224. The frequency of its occurrence suggests that the motif was common in epic poetry. On the other hand, in art the use of divine scales was exclusively depicted in connection with the duel between Achilles and Memnon. Even if the motif was typical, its use in the duel between Achilles and Memnon became especially famous, so much so that artists commonly depicted it and Aeschylus was inspired to compose a tragedy about it. Possibly this famous use of scales for the duel between Achilles and Memnon developed at a rather early date. If it is correct to link the motif to the Egyptian concept of using scales to weigh the souls of the dead in the underworld, then it may be very old indeed.[44]

There is a major difference between the time of the duel in the *Iliad* and in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. In the *Iliad* Achilles routs the enemy before he meets Hektor, whereas in the *fabula* he kills Memnon before he routs the Trojans. M. West (2003:8) explains this in terms of the development of an ur-*Iliad* into the *Iliad,* but it is simpler to understand the influence of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles ceding here to immediate poetic needs of the *Iliad,* as is always the case. The precedence of the rout in the *Iliad* makes the duel seem especially climactic, and the placement of the duel with Hektor immediately before the city walls allows Priam and Hekabe to address their son and Andromache to react pathetically to the sight of her dead husband.

I assume that the major events of the *Iliad* are traditional, though greatly expanded and modified. It might be speculated that one modification was the setting of the death of Patroklos and Hektor. Achilles may have usually killed Hektor (and Hektor Patroklos) in a battle among the Greek ships at the shore. Tradition may lie behind the prediction of Zeus at 8.470–477 that Achilles will rouse himself during a battle over the corpse of Patroklos *among the ships.*[45] That would answer a question raised by the proposition that both Hektor and Memnon are pre-Homeric. In the *Iliad* Achilles does not attack the city after killing Hektor (the abruptness of his decision not to do so is discussed in the next section). We must assume that traditionally Achilles did not then attack the city and die, if the participation of Penthesileia and Memnon in Trojan myth is traditional. But why would Achilles attack Troy after the death of Memnon but not after the death of Hektor? The simple reason is that because Achilles does not die in the *Iliad,* he must desist from sacking the city. But if Achilles traditionally killed Hektor among the ships, then he would be quite far away from the city. After con-

quering Memnon on the battlefield, he would be in striking distance of Troy with the Trojans in disarray. The Iliadic version of the duel between Achilles and Hektor may have transferred its setting from the ships to the plain before the city. Achilles' failure to attack Troy is then unexplained. The result is not a Homeric "problem" but rather significant allusion to the *fabula* of the death of Achilles.

I conclude that the duel between Achilles and Hektor does reflect the later duel between Achilles and Memnon. There are some motifs that seem to have been transferred from the *fabula* of the death of Achilles to this scene in the *Iliad* (e.g., the divine armor Hektor wears, the use of scales), and it seems that Achilles is here continuing to act out later events in his life.

Achilles considers attacking Troy *(~D).*

After Achilles has killed Hektor, he suggests to the Greeks present at *Iliad* 22.378–394 that they attack Troy, but then he dismisses the notion abruptly. Neoanalysts have thought that there is a hint of Achilles' attack on Troy here.[46] They are mistaken to portray the passage as a textual seam, that is, an abrupt transition in which borrowed material is put aside and the *Iliad* returns to its own story.[47] It seems likely, however, that the passage serves as a purposeful allusion to an event in the Achilles *fabula,* Achilles' attack on Troy. The effect is well prepared by earlier passages: at 20.30 Zeus had feared that Achilles would now sack the city "beyond fate"; at 21.536 Priam fears that Achilles will leap onto the city wall (reminiscent of the account in the summary of the *Aithiopis* by Proklos that suggested Achilles was breaking through the gates); and at 21.544–545 the narrator states the Greeks would have taken Troy if Achilles had not been delayed. As has been observed (Macleod 1982:28), for a moment it seems that the *Iliad* will end with the death of Achilles in an attack on Troy. This is not because such an ending occurred in an "original" ur-*Iliad,* but because the poem is alluding to the future. The *Iliad* leads up to but pulls back from a conclusion in which Achilles dies and, in so doing, ends with an unfinished air that is most suggestive of Achilles' coming fate.

Book 23

There is a funeral for Patroklos *(~G).*

Neoanalysts commonly compare the elaborate funeral for Patroklos with the funeral for Achilles.[48] Certainly a funeral is not a specific motif that belongs to Achilles, but neoanalysts have maintained that there are discrepancies in the *Iliad*'s account of the funeral that suggest that material has been inappropriately reused. The first issue concerns a phrase in line 14 of book 23, when Achilles and

the Myrmidons first mourn the slain Patroklos: μετὰ δέ σφι Θέτις γόου ἵμερον ὦρσεν. Some neoanalysts interpret this line to mean that Thetis was present among them. That would be surprising, for it has not been indicated that she joined them from her dwelling in the sea. Kakridis contended that Homer has momentarily confused the mourning for Patroklos with the funeral of Achilles—or even quoted a line from some pre-Homeric poem—because Thetis certainly was traditionally present at her son's funeral.[49] If that is true, then this would seem to be an insignificant conflation between mourning for Patroklos and mourning for Achilles, not purposeful allusion. More probably, the line suggests that the emotional state of the Myrmidons was inspired by a divinity, as often happens in Homer; it is not necessary to conclude that Thetis was actually present among the Myrmidons.

A second issue concerns the failure of the pyre of Patroklos to burn. Kakridis proposed that traditionally the winds at first refused to rouse the flames.[50] He notes that at Hesiod *Theogony* 378–380 the winds are born to Eos and concludes they were brothers of Memnon (a relationship that may explain why at Quintus of Smyrna 2.549 the winds carry off the corpse of Memnon). He proposes that the winds would be angry at the slayer of their brother and might therefore refuse to aid the burning of his pyre. In Quintus of Smyrna (3.694) Zeus sends Hermes to summon the winds to burn Achilles' pyre (a role played by Iris in the *Iliad*), and Kakridis suggests that in pre-Homeric tradition this command followed the refusal by the winds to help. The argument is brilliantly constructed but ultimately uncertain because there is no testimony that the winds did refuse to fan the flames on the pyre of Achilles.

It seems, therefore, that no specific motifs link the funerals. Nonetheless, the funeral of Patroklos, though a typical motif, seems more appropriate for a hero of Achilles' status than for Patroklos. And because it emerges that a number of motifs in the *Iliad*'s portrayal of Patroklos remarkably resemble motifs about Achilles in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles, we may suspect that Patroklos is also an Achilles figure here. In a general way, this correspondence makes Achilles again a Thetis figure, for he oversees the funeral as Thetis will his own (Schadewaldt 1965:180). As Alexiou (2002:6) has noted, Achilles' placing of his hands on the chest of Patroklos at 18.317 and 23.18 is comparable to the cradling of the head of Achilles' corpse by Thetis (motif H of the death of Achilles *fabula*).[51]

Games are held in honor of Patroklos *(~H).*

Neoanalysts also compare the games in honor of Patroklos to the games for Achilles.[52] The motif of funeral games is typical and cannot be considered to belong to one character. We may wonder, however, if they are as appropriate for Patroklos as they are for Achilles (Kullmann 1984:310). In addition, some have suspected that the wrestling match between Odysseus and Ajax in book 23 foreshadows their contest over the arms of Achilles.[53] Although funeral games are a typical motif, the inappropriateness of them for Patroklos and possible allusions within them to the funeral games of Achilles encourage the view that the funeral games for Patroklos reflect the games for Achilles. Patroklos in death continues to represent Achilles as he has throughout the later books of the *Iliad.* Achilles again may generally correspond to Thetis, for he provides the prizes as she will for his games (Schadewaldt 1965:180, 195).

In general it has been demonstrated that a number of neoanalyst arguments about correspondences between the *Iliad* and the *fabula* of the death of Achilles are persuasive. Some interpretations based on the strained vengeance theory need to be rejected, however, and even the more plausible neoanalyst positions need to be revised. Arguments that depend heavily on details of a textual nature are weak, especially when they posit vestigial mistakes as opposed to allusive triggers that are intertextually linked not with other specific poems but rather with traditional mythological narratives. Some correspondences involve typology, but heroic motifs that are inappropriate for Patroklos are suggestive of the death of Achilles *fabula,* especially when they are part of a sequence of convincing cases of motif transference. The organization of the sequences of transferred motifs in fact seems more complex than has been realized, an issue examined further in the next chapter.

Motif Sequences in the Iliad

As demonstrated in chapter 5, the *Iliad* alludes to the *fabula* of the death of Achilles through motif transference. A further line of inquiry is to explore the possible arrangement of these transferred motifs. Chapter 4 has shown that Iliadic reflection of the whole war seems to involve some conglomeration of transferred motifs; a series of motifs about the beginning of the war occur in the first part of the poem, whereas motifs about later events in the war (including the death of Achilles) are collocated in the later books of the poem. It is instructive to examine the possible sequence of motifs that have been transferred from the death of Achilles *fabula.* Do these transferred motifs exist in isolation within the *Iliad,* occurring in haphazard sequence, or do they in their totality constitute an overall, if indirect narrative?

If we consider the evidence from the perspective of the vengeance theory, nothing comprehensible becomes apparent. The vengeance theory attempts to establish very many correspondences, and as a result no overall continuity between the motifs seems possible. I have considered only some of the most common correspondences that have been argued by neoanalysts, and no coherent narrative is suggested by their sequence. If we list the correspondences that I examined, we find the following series, according to my lettering scheme: A, B, E, A, B, C, D, B/E, F, G, A, B, D, G, H.

Such a jumble of motifs is possible if the *Iliad* simply reused material from the death of Achilles *fabula* in a random manner. But if the individual transferred motifs are significantly allusive, as I have argued, then their collocation in a recognizable sequence would be an even more effective evocation of non-Homeric narrative. Motif transference need not occur in a sequential patterns, of course. Two commonly accepted examples appear to be isolated: the rescue of Nestor in book 8 (comparable to his rescue from Memnon by Antilochos) and the wounding of Diomedes in the foot in book 11 (comparable to the wounding of Achilles in the ankle). Once the vengeance theory is rejected, however, and the strained neoanalyst association between Antilochos and Patroklos is dropped, then it

becomes apparent that many transferred motifs concerning Achilles' death do occur in extended narrative patterns. This chapter suggests how the actions of Patroklos and Achilles are organized to foreshadow the whole story of the death of Achilles within the *Iliad*. Most of the motifs constitute two "sequences" that revolve around the characters Patroklos (reflecting the death of Achilles) and Achilles (foreshadowing his coming death).[1]

The sequence in which motifs belonging to Achilles have been transferred to Patroklos I call the *Patroklos sequence*. In this sequence Patroklos is an *altera persona* of Achilles. Sarpedon serves as a Memnon figure to some degree, but this correspondence need not be stressed. Achilles in this sequence may represent his mother in general ways, but again the correspondence, though interesting, need not be stressed. Some motifs in the Patroklos sequence belong to the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. Other motifs are typical for heroes (e.g., funeral games) but inappropriate for Patroklos's status. This invites recognition of their allusive function, which is confirmed when they are considered in the context of the sequence as a whole. The motifs from the death of Achilles *fabula* that are transferred chronologically back into the *Iliad*'s portrayal of Achilles I call the *Achilles sequence*. Here Achilles prefigures the actions of his future self. In the Achilles sequence, Hektor serves as a Memnon figure, though this is another correspondence that need not be stressed. In table 1, I graph the two motif sequences side by side, using the letters employed above in my reconstruction of Achilles' death.

In the Patroklos sequence, most of the possible motifs in the reconstruction are evoked, and they occur in the order of the narrative of the death of Achilles. The Achilles sequence reflects many significant motifs in the *fabula* of the death of Achilles, though not as many. Some of the transferred motifs are specific to myth about Achilles, even when considered alone (e.g., death through Apollo). Other motifs are typical (e.g., battle over a corpse) and do not certainly reflect the death of Achilles *fabula* when considered by themselves but can do so when interlaced with specific motifs in the narrative order of the narrative of Achilles' death.

Both Patroklos and Achilles reflect later events in the life of Achilles. The two "sequences" associated with them cooperate in presenting a cohesive outline of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. The Patroklos sequence is interrupted when Patroklos dies and his corpse is recovered. Then the *Iliad* jumps from the tracks of the Patroklos sequence to the Achilles sequence. This sequence begins with motif G, exactly the motif that follows the last motif in the Patroklos sequence (motif F) before it is interrupted. Just after the corpse of Patroklos has been recovered, representing the recovery of the corpse of Achilles, Thetis and the Ne-

TABLE 1
The Patroklos Sequence and the Achilles Sequence

Patroklos Sequence (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H): *Patroklos ~ Achilles, Sarpedon ~ Memnon*	Achilles Sequence (G, A, B, D): *Achilles prefigures his own death, Hektor ~ Memnon*
Book 16	
A. Achilles warns Patroklos before battle (cf. the warning of Achilles by Thetis).	
B. Patroklos kills Sarpedon (cf. the slaying of Memnon by Achilles).	
C. The corpse of Sarpedon is removed by divine intervention (cf. the removal of the corpse of Memnon by divine intervention).	
D. Patroklos attacks Troy (cf. Achilles' attack on Troy).	
E. Patroklos is killed by Apollo and Euphorbos by the walls of Troy (cf. the slaying of Achilles by Apollo and Paris).	
Book 17	
F. A battle rages over the corpse of Patroklos (cf. the battle over the corpse of Achilles).	
Book 18	
	G. Thetis and the Nereids mourn a prostrate Achilles (cf. their mourning of him at his funeral).
	A. Thetis warns Achilles he will die after Hektor's death (cf. her warning that he will die after Memnon's death).
Book 22	
	B. Achilles kills Hektor after the use of divine scales (cf. his killing of Memnon).
	D. Achilles considers attacking Troy (cf. his attack on Troy).
Book 23	
G. A funeral ceremony is given for Patroklos (cf. the funeral for Achilles).	
H. Games are held for Patroklos (cf. the games for Achilles).	

reids mourn Achilles, who prefigures his own corpse at his funeral. We move from the corpse of Patroklos as a symbolic corpse of Achilles to Achilles appearing like the corpse he will later be.

The Achilles sequence then starts at the beginning of the *fabula* of the death of Achilles with motif A and proceeds through those motifs that Achilles can appropriately foreshadow. The Achilles sequence stops when an attack on Troy is considered (motif D), for Achilles is not fated to die in the *Iliad*. At this point, the *Iliad* jumps tracks again back onto the Patroklos sequence. With the funeral of Patroklos (motif G), it picks up where it had left off at the end of book 17 (motif

F). The Patroklos sequence proceeds to finish the story, though reference to the immortality of Achilles is not explicit. The two sequences effectively interlock to foreshadow the whole of the death of Achilles *fabula.* The Patroklos sequence contains most of the motifs, for Patroklos in his death can act out the death of Achilles. The Achilles sequence interrupts the Patroklos sequence so that the hero himself may evoke his oncoming fate in a striking and memorable manner. The run of the two sequences together thus proceeds in this manner: A, B, C, D, E, F [G, A, B, D] G, H.

The sequence of reflection from Patroklos (as Achilles), then Achilles (as his future self), and then Patroklos again (Achilles) is comparable to the method of "sequencing" in rhapsode performance (Burgess 2006a; for rhapsode "sequencing," see Nagy 2002). Ancient testimony suggests that at the Panathenaic festival there were regulations about how one rhapsode followed another in performance. According to my analysis, this involved rhapsodes respecting the chronological sequence of a narrative, even if their performances were isolated excerpts of the larger story. In this manner a sequence of discontinuous segments—whether of a performance "text," or of a notional traditional story, like the Trojan War (Burgess 2004a)—could suggest the outlines of the whole narrative. An embedded reflection of this technique seems to be present in the *Odyssey:* in book 8 Demodokos sings of an episode from the beginning of the war (arguably), then later sings of the Trojan horse, before Odysseus takes on the narration of his own return home (books 9–12). The narrative sequence of these embedded Trojan episodes in the *Odyssey* seems to have been realized by Vergil, for Aeneas in the *Aeneid* tells of Troy's fall and his subsequent wanderings after viewing a number of Trojan War episodes on murals of Juno's temple (*Aeneid* 1.456ff.). Aeneas's account is parallel to that of Odysseus, and the iconography of the temple is parallel to the Trojan tales of Demodokos (Knauer 1964:166–167).

Just as the discontinuous sequence of Trojan episodes embedded in the *Odyssey* is comparable to rhapsode performance technique, so is the manner in which Patroklos and Achilles are employed to act out, in turn, the *fabula* of the death of Achilles. My comparison between the *Iliad*'s motif sequences and rhapsodic "sequencing" leads to the conclusion that the poem's organization of transferred motifs reflects rhapsode performance. This is not to suggest that the *Iliad* as we know it is a creation of the Panathenaic festival—though that idea has been often entertained, most plausibly by Jensen (1980). What it implies, in my view, is that the Homeric poem was created in the context of epic performance techniques that probably existed long before the Panathenaic festival. As a result, its compositional method acquired aspects of the manner of its performance (for

further exploration of embedded rhapsode technique, see Nagy 2002). This development would be a quite natural one in the performance culture of the Archaic Age.

There is also role playing of characters in the *Aeneid* (e.g., Aeneas/Turnus as Achilles/Hektor), though there the characters are self-conscious about their *persona* construction and the roles are disputed (e.g., Aeneas is described as Paris, and Turnus would cast himself as Achilles).[2] In the *Iliad,* characters can consciously experiment with roles; for example, Rabel (1997) has demonstrated that Achilles successively takes on Chryses, Meleager, and Herakles as models. In the motif sequences described above, however, there is no conscious role playing on the part of characters, nor could there be, because proleptic foreshadowing of the future is involved, not analeptic mimicking of paradigmatic models. One might be tempted to consider Achilles' imitation of a corpse intentional, because he knows his fate and affirms his intention to die. And Patroklos does intentionally imitate Achilles when he borrows his armor and pretends to be the "best of the Achaians" in battle. But motif transference is not effected consciously by the characters; it is a narratological "code" directed at the audience. Nonetheless, the basic processes of mythological *exempla* and motif transference are analogous, as was argued in chapter 4. Both involve the comparative linking of Iliadic and non-Homeric narrative in a complex and sophisticated manner.

More important than the question of compositional origins or methods, however, is the issue of reception. The motif sequences encourage a potential expansion of the poem's narratological significance. In addition to the *Iliad* telling its own story, at another (secondary) level it outlines the notional narrative of Achilles' death. Once the least convincing neoanalyst arguments have been set aside, it becomes apparent that motif transference in the *Iliad* exists in a much more coherent manner than has been previously realized. For a mythologically informed audience, the sequence of motifs serves to bolster the strength of motif reflection, especially in cases where typology is involved. The poem's ability to reflect the *fabula* of the death of Achilles becomes more effective as the motif patterning becomes increasingly recognizable. By such patterning, the *Iliad* allows an extended envisioning of the death of Achilles, even though that event lies outside the poem's narrative boundaries.

Burial and Afterlife of Achilles

The story of Achilles does not end with his death. Although the *Iliad* stresses heroic mortality, Achilles was usually thought to have an afterlife (see motif G in chapter 2). Books 11 and 24 of the *Odyssey* place the shade of the hero in Hades, but the Homeric view should not be assumed to be primary or even especially authoritative; most mythopoetic accounts gave a paradisiacal setting for the hero's afterlife. In this chapter we examine how the *Aithiopis* and the *Odyssey* explained Achilles' burial and afterlife. It has been thought that each epic, besides contradicting the other, is internally self-contradictory. More careful consideration of these epics in the context of early Greek theology suggests that their accounts are not only coherent but also compatible with each other and with traditional concepts of heroic afterlife. Accepting this conclusion necessitates rejection of the reconstruction of early Greek literature and religion by means of unjustified assumptions of epic filiation.

A major difficulty is the terseness of the relevant information that is available to us. For the Cyclic poem we depend on the summary by Proklos:

> καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται. Καὶ θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει. οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν τάφον χώσαντες ἀγῶνα τιθέασι
>
> And they set out the corpse of Achilles. And Thetis arriving with the Muses and her sisters bewails her child. And after this she snatches him from the pyre and conveys him to the White Island (Leuke). And the Achaians, after having heaped up a burial mound, hold games.

This extremely concise statement may seem straightforward enough, but within it lurks major issues concerning Achilles' burial and afterlife. How does Thetis snatch Achilles away? What is Leuke, and what kind of existence does Achilles

have there? Why do the Achaians build a funeral mound for Achilles after he has been translated?

Questions also arise about the Homeric account of Achilles' funeral at the end of the *Odyssey*. In Hades the shade of Agamemnon regales the shade of Achilles with a succinct report of Achilles' death and funeral. Agamemnon reports that, after the Greeks burned the corpse of Achilles at a magnificent funeral attended by Thetis and her sister Nereids, the bones of Patroklos and Achilles were put together in the golden urn of Thetis and a great mound was constructed over their remains:

ἠῶθεν δή τοι λέγομεν λεύκ᾽ ὀστέ᾽, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
οἴνῳ ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι· δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ
χρύσεον ἀμφιφορῆα· Διωνύσοιο δὲ δῶρον
φάσκ᾽ ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο.
ἐν τῷ τοι κεῖται λεύκ᾽ ὀστέα, φαίδιμ᾽ Ἀχιλλεῦ,
μίγδα δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μενοιτιάδαο θανόντος,
χωρὶς δ᾽ Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν ἔξοχα τῖες ἁπάντων
τῶν ἄλλων ἑτάρων μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα.
ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοῖσι δ᾽ ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητάων
ἀκτῇ ἔπι προὐχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
ὥς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴῃ
τοῖς οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται
(24.72–84)

In the morning we gathered your white bones, Achilles, in unmixed wine and unguents. Your mother provided a golden amphora, and said that it was the gift of Dionysos, and the work of famed Hephaistos. In this lie your white bones, glorious Achilles, and mingled with them the bones of the dead Patroklos, son of Menoitios, and apart those of Antilochos. You honored him above all the rest of your comrades after the dead Patroklos. And over them we, the divine army of Argive spearmen, heaped up a great and noble tomb on a projecting headland by the broad Hellespont. Thus, it would be seen from far from the sea both by men that now are and that shall be born hereafter.

The major distinction between the two accounts is that no special afterlife is given to Achilles in the *Odyssey* (of course, the internal addressee, the shade of Achilles, is in Hades). That fundamental difference is explored in the second part of this chapter. First, we should examine the details of both accounts more closely.

Interestingly enough, both the *Odyssey* and the *Aithiopis* have been thought to have produced unusual narratives under the sway of the *Iliad.* It has been supposed that the Cycle poem's report of both burial and translation conflates the *Iliad*'s emphasis on Achilles' mortality (and anticipation of his burial) with a non-Homeric tradition of the hero's afterlife. The *Odyssey,* on the other hand, has been suspected of divided (if biased) loyalty in its stipulation that the bones of Antilochos were buried near those of Achilles and Patroklos. This reflects, it is supposed, variant conceptions of who was Achilles' closest friend. In the *Iliad* it is Patroklos, whereas in the death of Achilles *fabula,* according to the neoanalyst vengeance theory, it is Antilochos. The passage in the *Odyssey* might thereby be interpreted as deliberately favoring the *Iliad*'s perspective at the same time that it recognizes the pre-Homeric one. Another controversy is the container for Achilles' ashes (discussed in chapter 1). A golden amphora from Thetis mentioned in the *Odyssey* also occurs in *Iliad* book 23—a rare point of contact between the two Homeric poems. The correspondence is not perfect, however, and the *Iliad* passage has been suspected of being an interpolation that occurred under the influence of the *Odyssey.*

It appears at first glance that Achilles' afterlife was developed by a few epics somehow influencing each other, with rather untraditional, contradictory, and unsatisfactory accounts resulting. This conclusion, however, rests on the assumption that a limited number of poems gradually developed the theme of Achilles' afterlife through a highly textualized process of invention and influence.[1] Apparent connections between early Greek poems should not be automatically ascribed to some chain of textual influence; they are often better explained as resulting from the intertextual web of traditional narrative of which different epics were cognate yet independent manifestations. Apparent inconsistencies between different accounts, on the other hand, are often exaggerated because of misunderstandings about ancient Greek religion and myth. Most early mythopoetic accounts of Achilles' burial and afterlife were fundamentally compatible, even if different aspects of it became emphasized variously.

Burial

Let us begin with the *Aithiopis.* Is the construction of a burial mound for Achilles in the *Aithiopis* senseless after the hero has been translated? Critics have struggled to explain the apparent inconsistency, often concluding that the Greeks raised a cenotaph.[2] This explanation would solve the perceived problem, but it is probably unnecessary. Immortality for a hero is not inherently contradictory to the

burial of the hero's ashes—as the examples of Memnon (see motif C of the death of Achilles *fabula* in chapter 2) and Rhesus (Eur. *Rhes.* 962–973) suggest. The burial of Achilles' ashes in a funeral mound and his subsequent translation to a paradise could easily have coexisted in the same narrative.[3]

This may seem like a bold assertion, but consider the only detailed ancient account of the translation, a Thessalian hymn to Thetis sung over the grave of Achilles in the *Heroikos* by Philostratos:

> Θέτι κυανέα, Θέτι Πηλεία,
> τὸν μέγαν ἅ τέκες υἱὸν Ἀχιλλέα, τοῦ
> θνατὰ μὲν ὅσον φύσις ἤνεγκε,
> Τροία λάχε· σᾶς δ᾽ ὅσον ἀθανάτου
> γενεᾶς πάις ἔσπασε, Πόντος ἔχει.
>
> 53.10

> Dark Thetis, Pelian Thetis, you who bore your great son Achilles, that one Troy obtained, as much as his mortal nature produced; but as much as the child received from your immortal lineage, the Pontos [Black Sea] holds.

Discussion of the Black Sea cult of Achilles can be reserved for chapter 8; here we should simply try to sort out the hymn's eschatological vision. It clearly suggests that Achilles was *both* buried and translated, and that this was possible through a separation of the mortal from the immortal in Achilles. Accordingly, it does not seem that Thetis simply snatched up the body of Achilles so that it could somehow be regenerated in a place of paradise.[4] Nor does it seem likely that she grasped an *eidolon* of Achilles, leaving the body behind to burn (Schadewaldt 1965:162 n.2). Presumably she took the immortal part of Achilles' body (not his *psyche*), leaving behind his mortal part to be disintegrated into ashes and buried; the separation of his distinct corporeal natures is apparently effected by fire.[5]

This explanation of what is a supernatural event may be overly precise, and it is idle to reconstruct a passage in a lost poem. It is apparent, however, that the verb ἀναρπάζειν, with which Proklos describes the action of Thetis, implies the removal of something tangible. Comparable are mythopoetic accounts of living mortals "snatched up" by winds or divinities—for example, Iphigeneia rescued by Artemis, the infants Dionysos and Asklepios taken from the bodies of their slain mothers, or Kroisos translated from his pyre (these examples are discussed in Burgess 2001b). There can be no doubt that visitors to the Troad certainly seemed to believe that the hero's bones were located there, as noted in chapter 8.

This need not mean that they favored a "Homeric" account of the hero's death over a "cyclic" one, or favored one form of cultic worship over another. The separation of Achilles' body into both mortal and immortal corporeality explains how the hero could be thought to enjoy his afterlife at Leuke though his bones were buried in Troy.[6]

Relevant are the early Greek stories of Thetis trying to immortalize Achilles by burning away his mortality with fire or boiling water and using ambrosia to preserve his immortal side (chapter 1).[7] Comparable is Demeter trying to immortalize her nursling Demophoon (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 231–245), but the motif is actually more appropriate for Achilles: Achilles, not Demophoon, is semidivine, and so could logically become immortalized if his mortality were burned away.[8] As it happens, Thetis fails to burn off the mortal side of Achilles when Peleus interrupts the process. So the fire of Achilles' pyre finally accomplished for Achilles what Thetis was not able to effect when the hero was an infant. Achilles always existed suspended between mortality and immortality, as Thetis was keenly aware, and fire is the key element in crucial episodes of Achilles' mythological biography, his infancy and apotheosis. It is no surprise, then, that fire is thematically associated with Achilles in the *Iliad*. As was noted in chapter 1, fire appears over the head of the Achilles *altera persona* Diomedes in book 5 (4–8), foreshadowing the key moment when fire appears about Achilles' head in book 18 (205–214, 225–227). Achilles' eyes gleam like a flame at the sight of his new armor, though its blinding brilliance makes his companions avert their eyes (19. 12–17). Achilles' eyes gleam like fire again when he puts on his armor for battle (19.365–367), and the gleam of his shield is compared to that of the flame of fire (19.373–380). The artisan of the armor, Hephaistos, later rescues the hero from near drowning by hurling fire at the river Xanthos (21.342–382). Subsequently Achilles, while rushing over the plain, appears to Priam like the autumn Dog Star whose gleam is especially conspicuous (22.25–32)—the same star to which Diomedes' flame had been compared (5.5–6)—and Achilles bronze seems "like the light of a burning fire or the rising sun" (22.134–135).[9]

The apotheosis of Herakles is obviously comparable to the apotheosis of Achilles, for it also seems to contain the motif of fire dividing mortality from immortality.[10] The pyre of Herakles is first attested in art and literature in the fifth century BCE. It may have always played a role in the immortalization of Herakles, though the issue is controversial.[11] The date of concept is of no consequence for its usefulness as an analogue, although the *Iliad*'s reference to the death of Herakles (18.117–119) should not be considered proof that the immortality of Herakles is post-Homeric. The *Iliad* routinely suppresses immortality (cf. 3.243–

244 and *Od.* 11.299–304 on the Dioskouroi), and because all accounts of the immortality of Herakles presuppose his death, the *Iliad*'s reference to his death in no way precludes his immortality. From what we can gather from the vague, incomplete, or inconsistent sources, Herakles' immortality resulted from the destruction of his mortal form by his funeral pyre. Some late sources discuss Herakles' immortality as a metaphor for the separation of body and soul, but in early Greek myth it is improbable that a soul of a mortal would reside among the quite corporeal divinities at Olympus. Before the body-soul division became canonical, eschatological conceptions of the afterworld allowed for a surprising degree of corporeality.[12] The pyre of Herakles likely functioned as it did in the story of Achilles: to separate the mortal part from the immortal part. Many of the sources suggest this, and at least two explicitly refer to the separation of divine and mortal "parts" (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1966–1977; Ov. *Met.* 9.251–252). I take this to mean that, after mortal flesh and bone had been burned off (*exusta mortalitate,* Pliny *NH* 35.40.139), a wholly immortal body remained to be translated to Olympus.

The pyre was probably prominent in the story of the death of Herakles because it functioned to bring about this separation. This interpretation might be relevant to the puzzling account at *Odyssey* 11.601–604 of two forms of Herakles, one in Hades and the other at Olympus. Nagy (1979:208) interprets the passage to mean that the body of Herakles eventually lives in a regenerated state at Olympus; I would suggest that the Olympic Herakles is the ascended immortal part, whereas the *eidolon* of Herakles in Hades represents the burned mortal part of the hero. A few fifth-century vases seem to agree with this interpretation by depicting a corselet on the pyre as Herakles is seen rising above it on the chariot of Athena; the corselet probably symbolizes the mortal husk of Herakles.[13] As with the translation of Achilles, there must have been a lot of disagreement about how exactly the apotheosis should be conceived, and no doubt storytellers were often uninterested in providing a clear and logical account. In any event, it is certain that the immortalization of demigods could be understood as the division of mortal and immortal parts through the agency of fire. This possibility in the case of Achilles has been neglected, leading to condemnation of the logic of early Greek accounts of Achilles' burial and translation.

Descriptions of the funeral of Achilles commonly specify the burial of Achilles' ashes within a tumulus. This is foreseen in book 23 of the *Iliad,* and it was described in both the *Odyssey* and the *Aithiopis,* as we have seen. An interpolation at Apollodoros *Epitome* 5.5 states that Achilles was buried at Leuke (see motif G in chapter 2), and a few late ancient sources, occasionally followed by some modern scholars, assume that Achilles was buried at Leuke. [14] The Thessalian hymn

may also imply that part of Achilles' body was buried at Leuke. But most accounts focus on the burial of Achilles' remains at Troy. Quintus of Smyrna specifies that Achilles' bones were gathered and buried in Troy (3.719–742). Pindar refers (*Pyth.* 3. 100–103) to the burning of Achilles' corpse and portrays the Muses singing by the hero's pyre and burial mound (*Isth.* 8.56–60); one would think a cenotaph would not be the location of such an honor. As pointed out in chapter 8, the epiphany of Achilles' spirit at his gravesite in cyclic and other accounts apparently presumes the burial of his ashes there.

The precise indication in *Odyssey* 24 of where the bones of Patroklos and Antilochos were buried has attracted much attention, as noted at the beginning of the chapter. Neoanalysts have often argued that the *Odyssey* thereby conflates the friendship between Achilles and Patroklos in the *Iliad* and the cyclic friendship between Achilles and Antilochos, as reconstructed in accordance with the vengeance theory.[15] The mixing of Patroklos's bones with those of Achilles follows the lead of the *Iliad,* from this perspective; the burial of Antilochos at some distance serves as a snub of the cyclic account, which nevertheless is acknowledged. The agonistic intertextuality posited in the argument is certainly intriguing, yet it rests on misguided assumptions.

The correspondence between Antilochos and Patroklos, as assumed by the vengeance theory, is fallacious. And the argument that the *Odyssey* is paying intertextual respect to both the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopis* or an *Aithiopis* prototype is flawed by an outmoded sense of textual filiation. As was demonstrated in chapter 1, it is not unlikely that the *Odyssey* would be very conscious of its partner Homeric epic, but it should not be readily assumed that the *Odyssey* was influenced by (or interested in) a specific cyclic epic. More acceptably, we could suppose that the *Odyssey* is reacting to the *Iliad* and to cyclic traditions (i.e., the death of Achilles *fabula*). Even posed that way, the hypothesis suggests not only that the *Iliad* invented the character Patroklos in imitation of Antilochos but that the *Odyssey* was half-inventive in its accommodation of the *Iliad*'s new vengeance plot. This limited way of considering the possibilities unnecessarily favors invention over mythological tradition.

If Patroklos is a pre-Homeric figure, as I think he is (Burgess 2001a:71–73), then the mixing of his ashes with those of Achilles may well be traditional. Placing the ashes of Antilochos in a separate container need not be ad hoc invention. Apparently, after the burning of Achilles' pyre, the ashes of Patroklos were retrieved from the newly constructed burial mound, mixed with the ashes of Achilles in the amphora, and then the mixed ashes were buried in the enlarged mound; at that

time, the ashes of Antilochos could also be placed in the mound.[16] It should not be surprising that in the *Iliad* there is no prediction of Antilochos's inclusion, for the death of Antilochos is not foreseen at the dramatic time of that poem.

Our sources provide us with little evidence, however: Proklos does not mention any mixing of ashes or nearby burial of ashes; Apollodoros does state that the ashes of Patroklos and Achilles were mixed, but corruption in the passage obscures his meaning (see above). When reconstructing the narrative, or trying to ascertain the relationship between the accounts of the *Iliad, Odyssey,* and *Aithiopis,* however, it is not justifiable to rely on the vengeance theory or to assume textual connections and disconnections between the few early epic passages on the topic that happen to survive. It is more plausible that the *Odyssey* reflects the basic elements of tradition. If that is so, the *Odyssey* does not react to the *Iliad,* the *Aithiopis,* or any other cyclic or proto-Cyclic epic. The Homeric poems and other cyclic poems, as cognate from the same mythological traditions, would simply be telling the same well-known narrative about the burial of Achilles.

Controversy has also arisen about the container for Achilles' ashes, the golden amphora bestowed by Thetis. In book 23 of the *Iliad* (82–92), the shade of Patroklos refers to a golden amphora that Achilles received from Thetis; Patroklos directs Achilles to use this to hold both his ashes and Achilles' ashes. The passage has been disputed, but Dué (2001) has demonstrated that this amphora has an early, if multiform, existence in the *Iliad.* Book 24 of the *Odyssey* also specifies a golden amphora obtained from Thetis for the ashes of Achilles and Patroklos. There may not be exact concordance: line 92 of book 23 of the *Iliad* indicates that Achilles has already received the amphora while still alive, whereas in the *Odyssey* it seems that Thetis gives it to the Greeks at the scene of the funeral (perhaps δῶκε at *Od.* 24.73 could be translated as a pluperfect, referring to a presentation of the amphora by Thetis at some time in the past [Pestalozzi 1945:29]; in chapter 2 the possibility that Thetis received the amphora from Dionysos at her wedding to Peleus was explored). Neoanalysts consider the golden amphora to be pre-Homeric, but they cannot accept that the ashes of both Achilles and Patroklos were traditionally mixed in the amphora, because they believe Patroklos is a Homeric invention. Once again the issue disappears with the rejection of the vengeance theory. It is just as easy to conclude that the *Odyssey* repeated a tradition in which the three heroes were buried together. The *Iliad* portrays Patroklos as the closest friend of Achilles, with Antilochos another, lesser friend; the *Odyssey* reflects this concept by mixing the ashes of Achilles and Patroklos and having Antilochos buried nearby; there is no reason to suspect that either Ho-

meric poem is being untraditional in any of this. If anything, it is very possible that the *Odyssey*'s account, rather than displacing Antilochos slightly, grants him more attention than was traditional.

Afterlifes

There is still a major issue to address, that of the apparent contradiction between the Homeric portrayal of Achilles' afterlife in Hades and other traditions that the hero enjoyed a paradisiacal afterlife. Numerous studies have examined the concept of afterlife in early Greek myth and epic. Some have concentrated on a lexical analysis of Homeric description of the soul and afterlife existence; others have widened their scope of the examination, placing the Homeric portrayal of the afterlife in the context of other evidence and time periods.[17] The bibliography is enormous, and the issues too complex to be given full justice here. For the purposes of my discussion of Achilles' afterlife, it will be useful for me to begin by stating the following assumptions:

1. The *Iliad* may emphasize mortality, and the *Odyssey* may favor Hades as an afterlife location, but they were not ignorant of other conceptions of heroic immortalization, including cult conceptions.
2. Once in existence, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not dominate or define the early Greek conception of the afterlife.
3. A schematic explanation of the development of afterlife belief should be resisted, though certain afterlife conceptions can be placed within a particular temporal and historical context.
4. The early Greek conception of the afterlife is largely coherent at a deep level, if very flexible in detail and application.

With these propositions in mind, we can challenge a common assumption about Greek mythological afterlife: the exclusive opposition between an afterlife in Hades and an afterlife in a paradise. In particular, the apparent contradiction between the Homeric placement of Achilles in Hades and the non-Homeric placement of the hero in a paradisiacal setting needs to be reconsidered. In early Greek myth, as in other non-Hellenic traditions, motifs involving the underworld and paradise locations are sometimes conflated, or at least alternated closely together so as to suggest that underworld and paradise locations exist on a continuum, not as polar opposites.

To understand this more fully, it will be necessary to establish the cosmographical syntax at work in the early Greek myth.[18] The otherworld was com-

monly conceived to have had both a vertical and horizontal axis. The vertical is well known from Homeric and Hesiodic passages in which Olympus is said to be far above the earth and Hades and Tartaros are thought of as far below earth (*Il.* 8.13–16; *Theog.* 720–721). These two extremes of the vertical axis can be connected in various ways; sometimes a pillar is thought to exist at the edge of the earth, or centrally at a "navel" of the earth. Atlas is frequently associated with the foundations of the cosmos at the edge of the earth, or actually serves as the pillar holding up the skies (*Od.* 1.52–54; Hes. *Theog.* 509, 517–520, 746–748; *Prometheus Bound* 348–352). The omphalos at Delphi is apparently a central manifestation of the *axis mundi;* "roots" connecting parts of the cosmos are mentioned several times in the *Theogony* (728, 736–746, 777–779). The motif of a cosmographical pillar is known in many cultures.[19]

Horizontally, Greek myth pictures the earth stretching out in a rather flat manner. The river Okeanos surrounds the edge of the earth. Here the sky meets the earth, here special races of mankind like the Aithiopians and Hyperboreans live, and in general the supernatural prevails. Otherwordly beings and locales, of both the paradise (Elysion, the Isles of the Blessed, the garden of the Hesperides) and underworld variety (Gorgons, Geryon, Hades) can be found there.[20] In the liminal area at the edge of the earth, distinctions become blurred. Divinities socialize with humans: the Aithiopians and Hyperboreans entertain the Olympians (e.g., *Il.* 1.423–425, *Od.* 1.22–26; Pin. *Pyth.* 10.34–36), Kronos can live with immortalized heroes (e.g., *Works and Days* 173a, Pin. *Ol.* 2.70, 77), and heroes like Odysseus and Herakles meet divine beings and creatures. The edge of the world involves temporal as well as spatial conflation, for there is a mix of the primordial past, the present, and the future. Only here could the Golden Age continue, overseen by Kronos long after the end of his rule (Versnel 1993:92–99).

The sun most naturally intersects the vertical and horizontal dimensions in its daily journey. Sometimes it is thought to enter the underworld after setting in the West to journey back to the East through the night. This motif occurs in Egyptian and Near Eastern traditions, at least, and there are indications of it in early Greek epic. In a different conception, Helios travels from West to East along the course of the river Okeanos on the horizontal plane. After his daily journey through the sky, Helios is thought to travel back East in a huge "cup," which Herakles borrowed to travel from East to West on one of his adventures.[21]

Homeric poetry stresses the dreariness of Hades, and in the modern world we make sharp distinctions between heaven and hell. Even in the Homeric poems, though, often portrayed as bleak in their otherworld outlook, there are suggestions that Hades supports life of a sort.[22] In the *Odyssey* it is portrayed as having

a meadow of asphodel (11.539, 573; 24.13) and a grove of Persephone with trees (10.509). The god Hades is at times described as an owner of cattle in early Greek myth, and in the Homeric poems he is described as κλυτόπουλος, "famous for colts" (e.g., *Il.* 5.654, 11.445, 16.625). Orion would seem to be hunting game when Odysseus spies him in the *nekyia* (*Od.* 11.572–575). And note that asphodel is a type of pale plant, said to be near the Λευκᾶς Πέτρη ("White Rock" (?), 24.11). The usually dark Hades would thus seem to be briefly illuminated by the light that is associated with such paradise locations as "White Island" (Λευκὴ νῆσος), which served as the afterlife location for Achilles.

That this is not overanalysis of passing details seems to be confirmed by other passages in Greek literature. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (481–482), a pleasant afterlife below the earth is indicated for worshipers of Demeter. Pindar in the second *Olympian* ode (2.55–67) states that the souls of select good men can enjoy a paradise-like existence in Hades, with equal amounts of light and dark; in a fragment (129), Pindar conveyed an even rosier picture of the underworld. A fragment of Sophocles (837 Radt) touches on the happy life in Hades for a select few. A most pleasant picture of the underworld can be found at Aristophanes *Frogs* 326–336, and Vergil in book 6 of the *Aeneid* portrayed Elysion in the underworld next to Hades. Many of these passages directly or indirectly refer to mystery religions, for which we also have cultic texts about a happy afterlife beneath the earth.[23] The Homeric hymn has many obvious connections with Eleusinian worship; Pindar is thought to reflect Pythagorean ideas of the western Greek world; Aristophanes is specifically portraying Dionysian initiates. Undoubtedly, mystery cults were very innovative in their ideas, and particularly novel is the concept of a possible happy afterlife for contemporary mortals, as opposed to the heroes of the distant past (Johnston 1999:12–14). The essential idea of an underworld paradise found in these relatively late Greek religious concepts, though, probably builds upon earlier heroic traditions.

Certainly scholars have seen in the *Odyssey* not just the presence of both paradise and underworld motifs but also their conflation. Scheria, for instance, seems a paradise, but the Phaiakians have been described as ferrymen of the dead.[24] Conflation of paradise and underworld motifs occurred both in Greek and non-Hellenic traditions, and possibly is of Indo-European inheritance.[25] The conflation is sometimes qualitative, with aspects of pleasure or life occurring in an underworld, and at other times the conflation is one of locale: a paradise lies under the world, or immediately adjacent to an underworld place. That is not to say that there is no difference between paradise locations and Hades, or that Hades did not often serve as the place of dismal, unattractive afterlife. Some essential

qualities tend to be associated with one or the other—light and life for paradise, darkness and decay in the other—but in Greek thought, as in other traditions, there existed the possibility of joining the apparent opposites together. As a result, we find a wide spectrum of otherworld possibilities that varied in their gradation of pleasantness.

When we turn to different conceptions of Achilles' afterlife, we should not immediately assume that the placement of Achilles' shade in Hades in the *Odyssey* is incompatible with other accounts that feature a paradisiacal location for the hero (see motif G in chapter 2). Leuke as a liminal island is comparable to Elysion or the Isles of the Blessed, yet the color denoted by its name (White Island) is often associated with the underworld (Hommel 1980:21 n.53). That suggests that there are connections, at some deep level, between these two forms of the afterworld. Nagy's argument that Hades could be a transitional state for a hero before he reaches paradise also recognizes the compatibility of underworld and paradisiacal locales for heroes.[26] In Greek thought there was not an exclusive opposition between Hades and paradise but rather a continuum of afterlife locations that varied in their circumstances. This continuum is expressed in the Hesiodic Ages of Humankind (*Works and Days,* 166–173) diachronically: the Golden Age has a postmortem existence above the earth, the Silver below, and the Bronze in Hades. Most pleasantly, the Heroic Age went to the Isles of the Blessed after its demise (all the heroes only if line 166 is removed).[27] Other possibilities are not as attractive, but there is a gradation of experience; the Silver Age, for instance, has an afterlife below the earth yet is "blessed" (reflecting hero cult?). Hades was the least attractive, and so served well the Homeric perspective. The Hesiodic catalog of afterlife experiences is diachronic, but these otherworld possibilities for heroic afterlife could coexist concurrently.

The *Odyssey,* though it allowed heroic immortality with more frequency than is often conceded, places most shades in Hades. This is compatible with the Iliadic emphasis on mortality, though it probably has more to do with poetics than theology. Hades is narratologically convenient as a stage for various types of shades to quickly appear and disappear. Here the parameters of time and space are relaxed, and full advantage is taken of the possibilities. Odysseus can interview deceased comrades and heroes from an earlier age, and shades can interact with each other. There are cameos, and a catalogic curtain call for mythological females. The narrative freedom provided by Hades results in poetical brilliance, even if it has unsettled critics who would like to remove this or that section on the grounds of logical or theological inconsistency.

Heroic otherworld existence was often multilocal, with many types of afterlife

existence and real-world epiphany possible. Instead of pitting testimonies for different heroic afterlife locales against one another, it is more productive to suppose that ancient Greeks found acceptable concurrent or successive otherworld habitations for an immortalized hero. For a late example, in the *Heroikos* by Philostratos (11.7–8) the shade of Protesilaos spends time with Laodameia in Hades but also appears to humans in Phthia and in Elaious (11.7–8). In the same work, the shade of Achilles appears both in the general area of the Troad and at Leuke, as do Ajax and Patroklos (Philostr. *Heroik.* 22.1- 2, 54.2–57; cf. Paus. 3.19.13). Apparent contradictions between various mythopoetic accounts of Achilles' afterlife may actually be more harmonious than is realized. Leuke, the Isles of the Blessed, and Elysion, comparable as multiform manifestations of heroic paradise, do not belong to a category completely separate from the afterlife location of Hades. Particular cult practices and particular poems would have their own reasons for emphasizing a specific locale for heroic afterlife existence, but a wide range of choices was available, and these choices were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Starting from the testimony of Proklos for the *Aithiopis* and from the shade of Agamemnon's account of Achilles' burial in *Odyssey* 24, we have explored Achilles' burial, funeral mound, translation, and afterlife. It is apparent that the topics are controversial; scholars do not agree in their reconstruction of the Cyclic poem, and the brief remarks of Agamemnon's shade do not always satisfy our curiosity. The question of the eschatological possibilities for Greek heroes is also a difficult one. My analysis has suggested several conclusions that cannot be proved, but the discussion should demonstrate that some fundamental assumptions of modern scholars need to be challenged. Variance in details between different accounts should not be ascribed to the filiation of a few influential epics, and lesser still should the development of Greek thought be charted by our limited surviving epic evidence. In fact, much of the apparent variation in individual narratives, or in mythopoetic accounts of Achilles' burial and afterlife, seem able to exist comfortably together within a coherent Archaic Age vision of heroic afterlife. That is not to say that attitudes on these topics did not change from place to place and from time to time; evidence for different historical conceptions of Achilles' afterlife, especially his cult in the Black Sea region and localization of his tumulus in the Troad, is explored in the next chapter.

Tomb and Cult of Achilles

After focusing in earlier chapters on mythopoetic accounts of Achilles, we now consider other perspectives. Whereas the preceding chapter discussed Achilles' burial mound and his translation to Leuke, this chapter focuses on the real-world locations associated with his tumulus and translation, the Troad and the Black Sea. The death and afterlife of Achilles were of interest outside of early Greek epic and long after the Archaic Age. Cult worship of Achilles in the Black Sea area continued throughout Greco-Roman antiquity, as did visitation of tumuli identified as Achilles' in the Troad. In the modern era explorers and archaeologists still argue over the exact location of the tumulus of Achilles. One might say that the hero's mythological afterlife has had a material world afterlife, for there have been constant attempts to localize Achilles' burial spot and otherworld existence. Beyond the rather nebulous world of early Greek myth and epic existed sociopolitical realities that inspired continuing interest in the hero.

Hero cult in antiquity consisted of rituals performed in honor of a mortal who was believed to have achieved some special status in the afterlife.[1] It dates back to at least the eighth century, when a marked increase of interest in the material remains of the Bronze Age is evident. Ritual activity at these locations often seems to be motivated by a belief that purported ancestors or legendary heroes are buried there, though the lack of early inscriptional evidence makes interpretation difficult. Hero cult soon became common in the Archaic Age and thereafter. It was a local phenomenon, often but not always centered on a purported grave site, with worshipers engaging in ritual attention to a hero believed to have supernatural powers to affect an area, whether for good or ill.

There are obvious links between Black Sea and Troad cult interest in Achilles and the mythopoetic accounts that we have surveyed, but in recent years scholars have rejected the view that hero cult was simply motivated by the influence of epic.[2] Epic and cult sometimes focus on the same heroes (though epic heroes constitute just a subset of hero cult), but they are independent phenomena with different concerns. Sociopolitical interpretations have recently stressed the func-

tion of cult in the context of a community. For instance, Polignac has argued that hero cult could provide a sense of the identity to a polis, especially when it is established on outer boundaries. Hero cult played an important role in the expansion of Greek colonization during the early Archaic Age (Malkin 1987), and many have argued that hero cult could serve claims of certain classes for territorial or political legitimacy.[3] Though it cannot explain all hero cult phenomena, a sociopolitical approach to hero cult has been applied effectively to the cult worship of Achilles, notably by Ukrainian scholars. Just as it is obvious that there are many points of contact between the myth and the cult of Achilles, it is also clear that different people in different places constantly reconceived traditional conceptions of Achilles' burial and afterlife.

Tumuli of Achilles

The preceding chapter examined epic accounts of the burial of Achilles, including the raising of a tumulus (burial mound) over his burial site. Outside of epic poetry, the tumulus of Achilles was regarded as a real piece of topography in the landscape of the Troad. Epic narrative performed throughout the Greek world far from the Troad described the tomb of Achilles, but ritual actions were performed at the specific physical location of the tomb.[4] Many famous visitors, such as Alexander the Great, visited the burial place of Achilles to pay their respects. Over the past few centuries, a number of visitors have also sought out the tomb of Achilles, as have, more recently, archaeologists. There has been much disagreement about the location of Achilles' burial mound, which was curiously mobile. The tumulus of Achilles has been a fluid conceptual motif that had various functions as it was manipulated by different media, audiences, and time periods.

First, it should be demonstrated that the grave site of Achilles was featured extensively in mythological traditions, and not just in a few early epics. In the *Iliad* the shade of Patroklos instructed Achilles to build a tumulus to contain both his bones and those of Achilles, the *Aithiopis* narrated its construction, and the shade of Agamemnon in the *Odyssey* confirmed that it was built (motif G in chapter 2). Later myth and poetry consistently report that the funeral of Achilles resulted in a great tumulus. Several fragments of Stesichoros seem to be concerned with the funeral of Achilles and may refer to future observation of this tomb by sailors on the Hellespont.[5] Pindar briefly mentions his tomb when he describes how the Muses sang in his honor by his pyre (*Isthm.* 8.56–60), and Quintus of Smyrna reports the gathering of Achilles' ashes and burial of them in a tomb by the Hellespont (3.719–742).

The tomb of Achilles was featured in other Trojan War episodes besides the

hero's burial, most infamously the sacrifice of Polyxena.[6] In Euripides' *Hekabe* it is reported that the shade of Achilles appeared at his grave site to demand the maiden's death.[7] Longinus (15.7) reports that Sophocles portrayed an epiphany of Achilles before the departing troops and that Simonides portrayed the scene better; these authors probably depicted Achilles demanding that Polyxena be sacrificed. The Epic Cycle contained epiphanies by Achilles at his grave. In the *Ilias Mikra* Achilles appears to his son Neoptolemos, apparently by his tomb.[8] And in the *Nosti* Achilles appears, presumably at his tomb, to warn Agamemnon upon his departure (Proklos). Ancient images of the tomb of Achilles are not numerous: there are occasional depictions of the initial burial mound of Patroklos, which is the basis of the later, greater burial mound of Achilles, and the tomb of Achilles may be depicted in the few surviving images of the sacrifice of Polyxena. Its size is usually modest, often more like an omphalos or an altar.[9]

The heroic tumulus of Achilles is not alone in the Homeric world, for in the course of the *Iliad* several prominent burial mounds are mentioned. Some are associated with ancestors of the Trojans, and at times the *Iliad* seems to look forward to a time when others will be the prominent burial spots of Greek heroes. Besides the tumulus of Achilles by the Hellespont, foretold in the *Iliad* and described in the *Odyssey,* there is also an interesting passage in book 7 of the *Iliad* when Hektor challenges one of the Greeks to battle him in a duel. In a poetic flight of fancy, Hektor boastfully imagines that the Greek who dares to face him will be buried in a mound at a headland jutting out by the Hellespont. The description is remarkably similar to the way that the tumulus of Achilles is described at the end of the *Odyssey:*

τὸν δὲ νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους ἀποδώσω,
ὄφρά ἑ ταρχύσωσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,
σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
καί ποτέ τις εἴπησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων
νηῒ πολυκλήϊδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·
"ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
ὅν ποτ᾽ ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ"
(7.84–90)

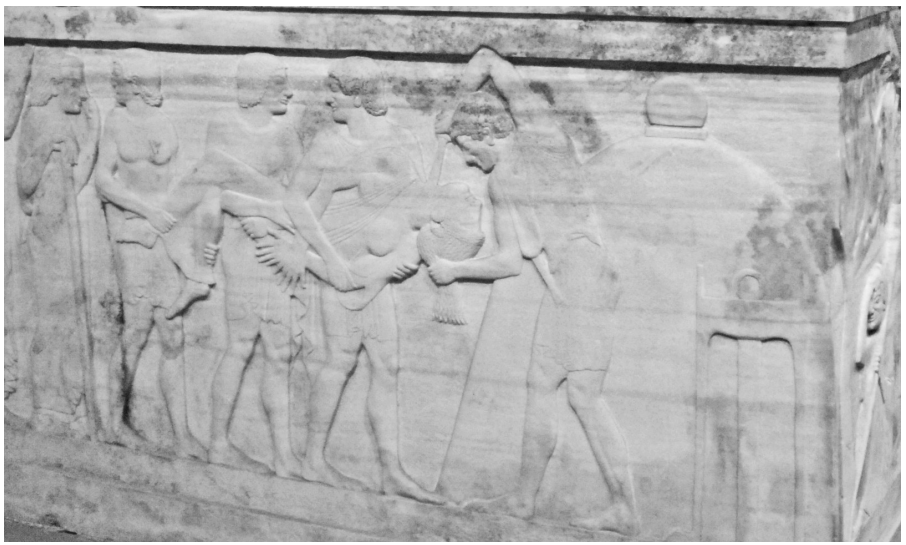
But I will return his corpse to the ships with rowing benches that the long-haired Achaians may bury him, and heap up a mound by the wide Hellespont. Then someone of later men will say as he sails his many-benched ship over the wine-dark sea, "This is the mound of one who died long ago, whom once as he fought nobly glorious Hektor slew."[10]

Cult ritual activity was very often carried out at the site where the hero was believed to have been buried, for it was thought that the shade of the deceased hero could arise from his burial site and cause good or harm for the surrounding area. It should cause no surprise that Achilles received ritual attention where he was said to be buried—in the Troad. Achilles was worshiped in many places, including most notably the Black Sea, and different conceptions of Achilles' cult may have been competitively championed. But cult worship of Achilles elsewhere in no way precludes its practice in the Troad, because different manifestations of cult worship could easily coexist. It has been plausibly argued that a fragment of Alkaios that refers to Achilles as "Lord of Skythia" was performed in the Troad as part of ritual worship of Achilles.[11]

Evidence for a Troad cult of Achilles is scarce and nonarchaeological in nature. The Homeric poems do not provide any explicit indication of cult worship of Achilles, though the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are certainly aware of hero cult.[12] Nagy has explained Homeric reticence about hero cult as Panhellenic avoidance of local concerns, and he has suggested some indirect indications in the *Iliad* of Achilles cult, especially in reference to the hero's burial and tumulus. The gold nature of Achilles' burial container may have cultic significance, for instance, as may the prominent visibility of the tumulus to sailors at sea.[13]

The Epic Cycle poems are apparently more local in nature and therefore may have been more forthcoming about cult worship of Achilles, although the surviving summary, fragments, and testimony do not indicate this clearly. The Cycle poems often feature immortality for heroes, but mythological narrative of heroic immortality cannot be automatically equated with ritual hero cult. More suggestive are the Cyclic references to Achilles appearing at his tomb and especially the sacrifice of Polyxena at Achilles' tomb. The epiphanies of Achilles seem to reflect cultic belief that a hero's powers are manifested at his burial spot, and the human sacrifice of the Polyxena story may be a horrifically exaggerated reflection of hero cult, where animal sacrifice is common. The new Polyxena sarcophagus displays not just the sacrifice of Polyxena, but scenes of ritual that has been interpreted as funerary in nature, with an emphasis on female participants (Sevinc 1996: 260–262). This linkage of myth featuring the tomb of Achilles with contemporary late Archaic funerary ritual, found on an artifact buried within a Troad-area tumulus, suggests a late sixth-century cultic awareness of a Troad tumulus identified as Achilles'. Comparable is the sacrifice of Trojan youths at the funeral of Patroklos (*Il.* 23.175–178), which has been thought suggestive of hero cult (Rohde 1925:12–17).

A full and rich description of cult worship of Achilles at his tomb in the Troad



Sacrifice of Polyxena. Sarcophagus, late sixth century BCE. Canakkale Archaeological Museum. Photo courtesy of Suat Ateslier, by permission of the Canakkale Museum.

is given by Philostratos in the *Heroikos*. Although the *Heroikos* is a rather fanciful yarn, its value as evidence about long-standing traditions of cult practice has recently been recognized.[14] It is reported that Thessalians from the Greek mainland sailed to the Troad each year to practice rituals at the tomb of Achilles (52.3–54.1). The political nature of the Thessalian cult practice is made clear in Philostratos's account. After the Thessalians joined sides with the Persians during the invasion of Xerxes, Philostratos reports, they abandoned the cult of Achilles. Later, under Macedonian rule, they returned to it because of Alexander's fascination with Achilles (53.14–53.17). In other words, Thessalian attention to a Troad cult of Achilles reflected how their political rulers found the myth of the Trojan War politically useful.

It is also notable that the Thessalian cult activity is brought into the Troad by outsiders, independently of local inhabitants. The Thessalians come into harbor at night, they bring their own sacrificial animals, and they even bring their own wood and fire. Their behavior is meant to be exclusive toward local elements, in an anti-eastern interpretation of Trojan War myth. When local shepherds witness epiphanies of Achilles and other Greek heroes, reports Philostratos, the heroes are hostile to them, as if the present-day inhabitants represent the Trojans of myth (18.1–23.1). In Philostratos's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (4.11–13, 15–16), rit-

ual worship is also carried out by an outsider (Apollonius), and the hero in an epiphany makes clear his hatred of Trojans.

The possibility of local cult worship of Achilles, on the other hand, is briefly suggested by Strabo (13.1.32), who portrays the inhabitants of Troy as practicing cult worship of Achilles and other Greek heroes. The tumulus of Achilles is not specified, but the sacrifices are performed at a monument and temple of Achilles, and these must have been located in the vicinity of his burial spot. Also suggestive of local interest in Achilles is the Polyxena sarcophagus recently found in the larger Troad area. Used as a burial container in a burial mound, its iconography appears to mix images of funerary ritual with the scene of Polyxena's sacrifice at Achilles' tumulus. It is apparent that myth about Achilles was meaningful to those who lived in the area around Troy, and that they easily linked it with their contemporary ritual activity.

Down through the ages, the potential political significance of Achilles' tumulus was often recognized. In Herodotos's account of rivalry between Athens and Mytilene in the Troad, which apparently occurred in the sixth century, Mytilene established a town in the area called "Achilleion" after the Athenians took over Sigeion. This town apparently derived its name from a nearby tumulus identified as that of Achilles, as Strabo (13.1.39) and Pliny (*NH* 5.33.125) later confirm. So by the sixth century BCE, at least, there existed a place in the Troad formally recognized as the burial place of Achilles, of such significance that it could give its name to a town established nearby. One surmises that in the struggle between Athens and Mytilene, both outsiders to the Troad, control of the tomb of Achilles, and by extension the glory of the Greek mythological past, was deemed of great symbolic value.

Political leaders in antiquity went out of their way to visit Troy and often the tomb of Achilles.[15] The topography of the area, and its surviving monuments, served as a stage for enactment of ideological conceptions of East and West. *Realia* in the Troad suggested the mythological past of the Trojan War, which had long functioned as an endlessly malleable allegory. Trojan War myth had obvious use as a metaphor for West and East, or Greek and barbarian, but it also offered opportunities for much different interpretations. Sympathy for vanquished Trojans, and foundation stories featuring Trojan dispersal into the Western world, resulted in various and highly complex use of Trojan myth. Even when a modern ruler identified with one side or the other of the Trojan War, he would often offer respect toward both sides, if only to appease potentially hostile spirits.[16]

Much depended on who was visiting and where they were proceeding afterward. Xerxes stopped by Troy before invading Greece, sacrificing to Athena and

making libations to "heroes," though we do not hear of his visiting tombs (Hdt. 7.43.1–2). In 334 BCE Alexander the Great, styling himself a second Achilles having come to the East to conquer barbarians, visited the tomb of Achilles. He ran naked to the tomb of Achilles and laid a wreath there, while his close friend Hephaistion performed similar rituals at a nearby mound identified as the tomb of Patroklos (Arr. 1.11.7–12.1; Plut. Alex. 15.8–9). Later still Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople, reportedly visited the tombs of Ajax and Achilles.[17] He was said to have fancied himself an avenger of Troy, but he may have seen a need to placate ancient Greek heroes in this mission, much as Alexander in his previous visit to Troy sought to ingratiate himself with the shade of Priam.

The Romans traced their lineage back to the Trojans, and so visiting Romans tended to focus on Trojan heroes. However, when Caracalla visited the Troad in 214 CE he dedicated a bronze statue to Achilles and honored him with sacrifices; what is more, he had his freedman Festus cremated there, apparently with a great tumulus constructed over his bones, in imitation of the burial of Patroklos (Herodian 4.8.4–5). The tomb of Achilles was also visited by Julian in the fourth century.[18] The Troad had become a tourist site by the imperial period, and doubtless there were other undocumented visitations of Troad monuments by prominent figures. Lucan (9.961–999) portrays Caesar visiting Rhoition, the customary site of Ajax's tumulus, among other Troad locations, and reflecting upon the heroes of the Trojan War. On a more imaginary level, famous visitors included Charon and Homer himself. Lucian has Hermes, as tour guide, pointing out the tomb to Charon. It is said to be by the sea, in view of Sigeion and Ajax's tomb at Rhoition (the tombs are "not big," sniffs Charon, unimpressed). A Homeric biography reported that the poet was blinded when Achilles appeared in full armor at his tomb.[19]

The actual location of the tumulus of Achilles in antiquity is not clear. In Homer it is said to be by the Hellespont and near the Greek camp. Both the camp and the tumulus are regularly placed on the Trojan shore of the Dardanelles, though some modern scholars have looked elsewhere (see below). It is often assumed that the Mytilenean town Achilleion links the tumulus of Achilles with Sigeion, because Achilleion, named after a nearby tumulus of Achilles, was founded in response to the Athenian taking of Sigeion. It is unlikely, however, that Achilleion could have been safely situated in close proximity to Sigeion.

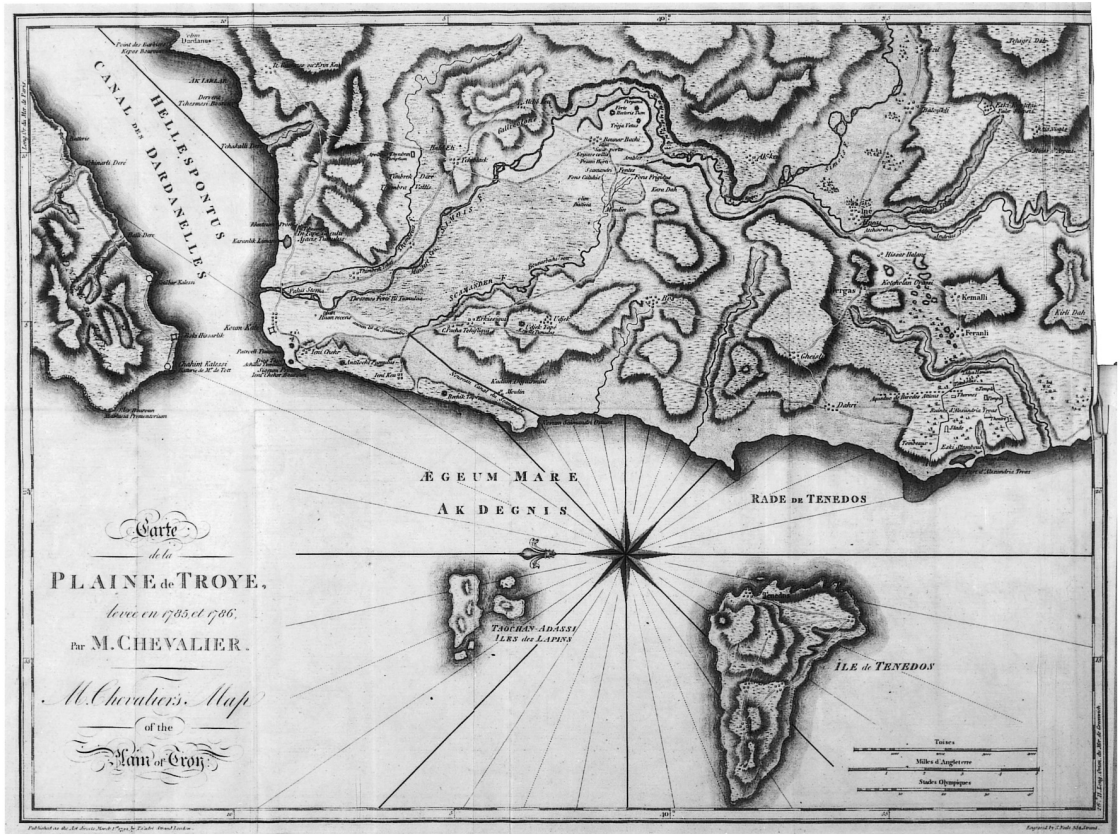
A surprising localization of Achilles' tumulus, on the European side of the Dardanelles, seems to be found in Euripides' *Hekabe.* At least the Greek troops are located there, becalmed until the sacrifice of Polyxena at the request of Achilles, who appeared at his tumulus.[20] This may conflate Achilles' tumulus with another

celebrated heroic tumulus in the area, that of Protesilaos. Protesilaos's tumulus and cultic presence on the northern shore is famously featured at the end of Herodotos and later central to the *Heroikos* of Philostratos.[21] Euripides is either idiosyncratic in his placement of the tumulus of Achilles or remarkably disinterested in its location.

Flexibility about Achilles' tumulus is demonstrated elsewhere in the ancient world. Alexander's ritual actions at the Troad presume separate tumuli for Achilles and Patroklos, which contradicts the conception of Alexander's beloved Homer, according to which the bones of Achilles were mixed with the bones of Patroklos, and the two were buried under one great funeral mound. This non-Homeric conception of separate tumuli for Achilles and Patroklos is reflected in other ancient and later sources.[22] The Homeric poems are admittedly vague concerning the location of Achilles' tumulus, but many who claimed inspiration from Homer display little care for what the Homeric passages actually state.

This variance about the tumulus of Achilles may be compared with ancient references to Achilles' afterlife existence. The location of Achilles is in Hades in the *Odyssey,* whereas other poetic accounts refer to either Leuke, the Isles of the Blessed, or Elysion (see motif G in chapter 2, and chapter 7). Something of the same may have been happening with the tumulus of Achilles in the Troad. Myth of Achilles' burial in the Troad granted his tumulus Panhellenic fame, but outsiders often did not seem to have a consistent understanding of its nature and location. Greater focus on the tomb's location may have been displayed by Athens, which had long-standing political and economic interest in the area (Michelakis [2002:68–83] argues that an Athenian audience would have recognized displacement of Achilles' tomb in the *Hekabe* and that this is central to the significance of the tomb in the play).

When Europeans in modern times first began to visit the Troad, supposed heroic tumuli were the prime attraction.[23] There was not much else to see. Before Schliemann excavated at Hisarlik, there were no indisputable ruins of ancient Troy to observe, and there was widespread disagreement about the location of Troy or even whether there was a real Troy. So visitors usually contented themselves with the mounds that dotted the local topography. Prominent mounds on the northern slope beneath the high ridge of Yenisehir, by the Sigeion cape, were commonly identified as heroic, and as early as 1548 the largest was identified as that of Achilles (J. Cook 1973:16). The late eighteenth-century map by Lechevalier identifies Achilles' tomb at Cape Sigeion, while a smaller mound a few hundred meters inland is labeled Patroklos's. The identification of these two tumuli as Achilles' and Patroklos's became common thereafter.[24] The Sigeion cape as a lo-

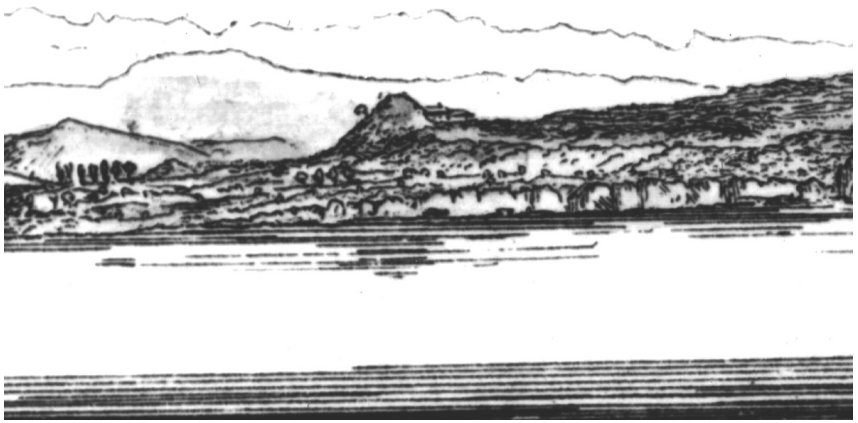


Map of the Troad. From Lechevalier 1791. Photo courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book library, Toronto.

"Tumuli of Achilles and Patroklos," Cape Sigeion. Section of Lechevalier map. Photo courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book library, Toronto.

cation for the tumulus of Achilles was consistent with the Homeric portrayal of the tomb as being by the Hellespont and visible from the sea, although Lechevalier was apparently content, like Alexander before him, to identify two separate tombs for Achilles and Patroklos in contradiction to the Homeric account.[25] (On his map, Lechevalier [1791] identified Bunarbashi as the mythical Troy, having claimed to have located near there the famous hot and cold springs of Troy as described in *Iliad* book 22; this identification was to hold sway until Calvert convinced Schliemann to dig at Hisarlik in the next century.)

An excavation of this presumed tumulus of Achilles was undertaken at the end of the eighteenth century, and nothing was found that argues for a prehistoric date. There was evidence for a cremation burial, which Lechevalier suggested may be the ashes of Achilles, yet the vase fragments seemed to stem from the Classical Age.[26] A general sense of disappointment fueled much controversy over the quality of this excavation, and Schliemann tried his hand at it almost a century later—or so he thought, though his illustration of a lovely mound hardly



"Tumulus of Achilles" at Cape Sigeion, from the Aegean. Section of illustration by William Gell, 1804. Photo courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

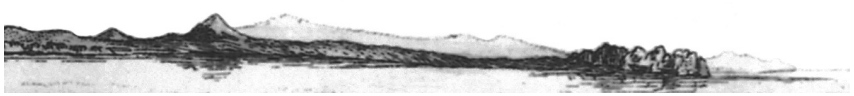
"Tumulus of Achilles" at Cape Sigeion. Illustration by William Gell, 1804. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

concurs with reports that previous excavation had destroyed it.[27] He surely would have been delighted to find prehistoric evidence but had to settle for an argument that the tumulus dated to the time of Homer. Even this is unlikely; it seems the mound cannot be dated earlier than the sixth century BCE. Schliemann's excavation of the nearby mound that was considered Patroklos's yielded no sign of burial and the same type of pottery. Certainly no Bronze Age heroes were buried in these mounds, though they may have been regarded as heroic from the Classical Age onward.

In the past century a different tumulus has laid claim on the title of Achilles' tomb. This is Sivri Tepe near Besika Bay, to the south of Cape Sigeion along the coast of the Aegean Sea. Occasionally in the past, some placed the tumulus of Achilles here, but it was only in the early twentieth century that this localization gained much attention. The impetus was a new theory that the ships of the Greeks had been moored at Besika Bay, on the Aegean coast, rather than on the shore of the Hellespont. Certainly in modern times Besika Bay was often used as a stopping point for ships blocked by winds from entering the Hellespont. If the ships of the Greeks were located here, the argument went, then the location of the tomb of Achilles would be nearby. In the *Iliad* the camp of Achilles is located at one end of the Greek fleet, and the tumulus for Achilles and Patroklos is apparently constructed near the great hero's camp.

No naval evidence was found to support the Besika Bay theory, whose most prominent adherent was Dörpfeld, Schliemann's archaeological collaborator (J. Cook 1973:170–173). However, it is a happy consequence of the theory that much interesting archaeological work has been done in the area. The highest tumulus in the Troad, Uvecik Tepe, which had been previously excavated by Schliemann, was poked and prodded some more by Dörpfeld. He wished to find the tomb of Patroklos, but the evidence actually suggests that Uvecik Tepe is the burial place for Caracalla's freedman Festus, perhaps with a core dating from the Classical Age. Dörpfeld eventually decided that Sivri Tepe could be the tomb of both Achilles and Patroklos, which after all would be more Homeric. But his efforts there, like Schliemann's before him, were inconclusive.

Cook supposed that Sivri Tepe was for the most part Hellenistic in date, though perhaps with a smaller prehistoric form. More recent work by Korfmann and his team has basically confirmed this view with greater precision and authority.[28] It is possible that Sivri Tepe was the tumulus at which Alexander the Great performed his rituals, and speculation for an earlier manifestation of the tumulus is encouraged by other archaeological sites of interest in the area. Already in 1973 Cook had logically deduced that Cape Burun, which juts out into the sea just



Sivri Tepe and Cape Burun. Section of illustration by William Gell, 1804. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Sivri Tepe from the west. Photograph by the author.

north of Besika Bay and near Sivri Tepe, was the most likely location of the ancient town Achilleion (J. Cook 1973:178–188). Recent archaeological work seems to make this argument plausible. Evidence of habitation at Cape Burun has been found, dated to various times: the third millennium, a brief period of time in the thirteenth century BCE, and then at a later time beginning around 600 BCE. The latest time is of great importance, because it is consistent with the creation of the town Achilleion by the Mytileneans in the sixth century BCE. If Achilleion was at Cape Burun, and not near Cape Sigeion to the north, as previously thought, then the nearby Sivri Tepe, though not yet enhanced to the full glory of its Hellenistic state, must have by then been regarded as the tomb of Achilles, at least by the founders of Achilleion.[29]

Yet Sivri Tepe is not located by the Hellespont, and in the *Iliad* the tumulus of Achilles is said to be right by the Hellespont. Indeed, the Homeric placement of the Greek ships near the Hellespont militates against the whole Besika Bay theory. Rationalizations to fit the Homeric account to Aegean localizations have been attempted, to be sure.[30] To a landlubber looking out to sea from the Troad, the islands Samothrake, Imbros, and Tenedos together block off the view of the Aegean to the northwest, and the Hellespont may appear as a body of water that extended out from the Dardanelles, around Cape Sigeion, and down south along the coast.

Aegean Sea from the top of Sivri Tepe. Photograph by the author.

As a result, Sivri Tepe could be conceived as being at a heading jutting out "by the Hellespont." In my opinion, this is plausible enough, but localization of Achilles' tomb cannot convincingly depend on the vexed question of the Homeric location of the Greek ships, which in turn invokes the ambiguous issue of the Trojan War's historicity. Most ancient references to Achilles' tumulus, perhaps depending on the Homeric account of its location, in fact assume a Sigeion location. The localization of Achilles' mound was doubtless as controversial in antiquity as it is today.[31]

Belief in heroic tumuli probably arose in the Iron Age, not the Bronze Age. Homeric accounts of the heroic burial mound assume cremation, which for the most part is a contemporary and not Mycenaean practice. Yet heroic tumuli seem integral to the epic tradition that the Homeric poems have inherited. The Homeric poems were probably composed with knowledge of Troad topography and its heroic connections, including a hillock identified as the tumulus of Achilles.[32] The Homeric poems do not display much interest in the precise arrangement of topography, and there seems little point in "defending" the accuracy of Homer (*pace* Luce 1998). Yet any investigation of the reception of the Homeric poems

must take into account the interest in Troad heroic tumuli, an interest that extended beyond the world of Homeric poetry to cult worship and political visitation. If cult worshipers performed rituals at a presumed tomb of Achilles, this gives us a fascinating glimpse into another dimension of the ancient Greek hero. If ancient leaders sought to gain credibility by visiting the tomb of Achilles, this tells us something about the enduring power and influence of the Trojan myth in antiquity. Topography of the area served as some inspiration for traditional narrative about the Trojan War, and interest in this topography interacted with these traditions as they developed and as they were received.

The issue is properly one of reception. The question is where the tumulus of Achilles was believed to exist, not where it actually existed in reality. If that needs to be stated, it is because archaeological work has sometimes wished to conflate myth with history. Certainly Schliemann had a historicist desire to prove the reality of Priam's Troy. In the Besika Bay area, Dörpfeld extended this historicist attitude, albeit with greater skill. The recent extensive archaeological work in the Troad by Korfmann and his team is self-consciously post-Schliemann, with a sophisticated range of analysis that goes much beyond buried treasure and myth, yet one senses a tone of regretful self-abnegation in the studiously moderate remarks on the historicity of the Trojan War.[33] Those of a historicist bent have certainly been less circumspect in trumpeting the latest findings as evidence for their approach, and the identification of Sivri Tepe as Achilles' tomb has played a role in such arguments. But there is no evidence for a Troad burial mound of a Mycenaean warrior, and it is misguided to identify a single tumulus as the tomb of Achilles. Instead, we should be content with the realization that various mounds in the area, natural and man-made, began in the Iron Age to inspire legends of heroic burials. These legends are important because they played a role in shaping the Homeric poems and their subsequent reception.

There were multiple localizations of the tumulus of Achilles in antiquity and afterward, with various mythopoetic, cultic, political, and archaeological motivations. The state of aporia reached in a search for the true tumulus of Achilles results not just from a lack evidence, literary or archaeological; it stems from disagreement among the ancients concerning the hero's tomb. Inhabitants in the area had different ideas about the identification of heroic tumuli. Outsiders often displayed confusion over their location and identity, or even felt free to create notional tumuli without any basis in reality.[34] The topography of the Troad itself changed, as tumuli came and went because of natural erosion and human intervention. The Homeric poems were often the inspiration of interest in Achilles' tomb, but not the only one. The tumulus was featured in non-Homeric myth of

various media, and ritual activities were carried out at his tomb, or what was believed to be his tomb. There were mounds about the area, and one could always be identified as the tumulus of Achilles. Achilles' tumulus was a fluid, usable concept that served different functions.

Black Sea Cult

The other major location associated with Achilles' afterlife is the northern Black Sea.[35] As we saw in the preceding chapter, in some mythopoetic accounts Achilles was translated from his pyre to the island Leuke. Most probably Leuke was in origin a mythological location conceived as being somewhere at the edges of the world, like the Islands of the Blessed and other heroic afterlife paradisiacal islands.[36] Perhaps the mythological Leuke was located vaguely in the North, as part of a precolonialization conception of "Skythia," but eventually an actual island in the Black Sea became identified as "Leuke."[37] Because the *Aithiopis* has been attributed to the Milesian author Arktinos, and Milesians were the major colonizers of the northern Black Sea, scholars have suspected that the Cyclic poem was composed after colonization began in the seventh century.[38] If this is so, the Cycle poem probably presented a particular geographical manifestation of a preexisting mythological concept.

Whether or not the *Aithiopis* meant to specify a Black Sea location when it referred to Leuke, as early as Alkaios Achilles is connected with "Skythia" (354 L-P). Archaeological evidence for the cult of Achilles at Leuke and elsewhere in the northern Black Sea begins in the sixth century BCE and continues down into the time of the Roman Empire, when Olbia maintained a cult of Achilles Pontarches ("Lord of the Sea").[39] Temples were constructed both at Leuke (as early as the sixth century) and at Olbia. The later Pontarches manifestation of the cult portrays Achilles as a god as much as a hero, a duality perhaps indicated earlier by his Leuke temple, as well as the very multiplicity of cult locations for Achilles in the Greek world.[40]

The location of the Black Sea Leuke, just like the site of Achilles' tumulus, has been variously conceived. In verse of the Classical Age and afterward, the location of Leuke itself is only vaguely situated. Its general location is considered to be the Black Sea, but the exact nature is not consistent from one account to the next. For example, phrasing in Euripides (*Andr.* 1260–1262, *IT* 427–438) seems to confuse or conflate Leuke with another cult site, the peninsular spit of the Tendra known as the "Racecourse of Achilleus" (on which see Tunkina 2006). Geographers were subject to no less confusion in regards to the identification of the Black Sea is-

land, for a second island near Olbia, Berezan (discussed below), was eventually known as "Achilles' island." It is likely that even after Greek colonization the Black Sea remained a distant and even otherworldly place to outsiders (S. West 2003), and as a result the Black Sea island identified as Leuke could become easily conflated with other cultic locations dedicated to Achilles on the north shore.

After identification with an actual island in the Black Sea, the heroic paradise Leuke quite unusually became reconceived as a cult location that mortals could visit. There are instances in Greek myth when a mortal hero might visit supernatural places at the edges of the world (e.g., Odysseus at Hades or Herakles among the Hyperboreans), but everyday mortals of the post–Heroic Age were not normally considered to have this ability. Greek colonization of the Black Sea necessarily affected conceptions of it; what had been conceived as being at the edges of the earth became part of the inhabited world. The story of the journey of the Argo similarly underwent a process of increasing localization in the Black Sea, as did the journeys of Odysseus and Herakles in the western Mediterranean following Greek colonization.

The Black Sea cult of Achilles lasted a millennium and was certainly not monolithic. At times the worship of Achilles in the Black Sea had Panhellenic aspects, though Milesians led the way in the colonization of the north Black Sea (Burgess 2001a:165). Achilles may have been attractive to seafarers as the son of the sea goddess Thetis, and the identification of an island in the north Black Sea as Achilles' afterlife abode was undoubtedly comforting for explorers of the unknown and hostile-seeming Black Sea. The cult of Achilles at Leuke also probably functioned as a Hellenic outpost in barbarian territory, with Achilles legitimizing and protecting Greeks traveling into the area for the first time. Comparable is the cult of Odysseus at Polis Bay in Ithaka, which Malkin (1998:25–26, 95–119) has described as a Panhellenic jumping-off spot for various Greeks moving on westward to Italy.

By the late seventh century, Milesian colonists were present at Berezan, first a small peninsula and later an island on the north Black Sea shore (Solovyov 1999). Soon afterward the important city of Olbia was established nearby.[41] Cult sanctuaries outside of Olbia probably served to mark the ideological boundaries of the polis.[42] Olbians not only practiced the cult of Achilles in their immediate area but took great interest in the island Leuke itself. In one notable inscription found at Leuke from the fourth century, Olbia formally thanked an individual for his service to all Greeks by ridding the surrounding sea of pirates.[43] It is clear that Olbians came to dominate a cult that interested others beside Milesians; they recognized the cult's political value, not least because of its Panhellenic profile, and took steps to increase its status by controlling various aspects of it.

This stage lasted into the Hellenistic Age, but as time went by, the prosperity and importance of Olbia declined, and it was often threatened by native populations. In the Roman period, we find that the focus of Olbian worship of Achilles is not Leuke but rather nearby Berezan, which probably led to the confusion with Leuke in our later sources. When Olbia could no longer dominate Leuke, the range of its cult practice retreated, and Berezan apparently became a substitute. The cult seems to become more formal and institutional as Olbia becomes less powerful, with priests and rather monumental inscriptions. The epithet Pontarches underscores the expansion of status for Achilles from hero to divinity; at the same time the hyperbolic geographical claim for the sphere of Achilles' influence is a wishful inversion of the city's receding power.

Within Olbia itself, the cult could serve different needs. Although Leuke and other cult sanctuaries certainly contributed to the ideological unity of Olbia, early Black Sea inscriptions seem to express a need to propitiate the hero for individual concerns.[44] Especially significant are more than a hundred votive inscriptions from the sixth and early fifth centuries found at Beikush, a few kilometers from Olbia.[45] The terracotta sherds, commonly rounded, are often inscribed with the shortened form of Achilles' name (sometimes just an alpha; occasionally the hero's whole name in the dative). They also often display simple yet intriguing representations (discussed below).[46] Undoubtedly the cult was encouraged in the outskirts of Olbia as a way of solidifying the entity of the Olbian polis, as Ukrainian scholars have emphasized. But the humble nature of these disks, especially compared with the official inscriptions of the Pontarches period of the cult, also suggest that Achilles functioned for these nonurban colonists in much the same way he did for sailors: a powerful Hellenic symbol protecting Greeks in a strange and threatening territory.

To what extent did Black Sea natives play a role in the cult of the hero? Native interest in the cult has long been suspected. Speculation about native influence on the origins of the cult, or syncretistic development of the cult, began in the nineteenth century and has been common in the twentieth century.[47] The proposals of native influence have been various in nature. Fleischer suggested that the myth of Achilles' translation to Leuke, but not his cult, was known on the shores of the north Black Sea before Greek colonization.[48] Others have thought that the cult originated through syncretism with the Thracian "Rider" hero or a Skythian divinity. Though often criticized, such theories have persistently reappeared down to the present day.[49]

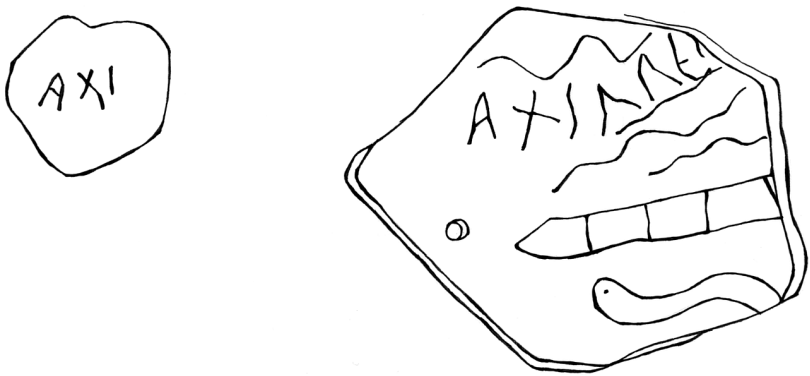
Fascinating as speculation on native inspiration for the cult may be, there is no decisive evidence in support of it. Native interest and involvement in the cult

is another matter. Some literary passages are suggestive: Alkaios conceived of Achilles as ruling over "Skythia" (354 L-P),[50] and in Quintus of Smyrna (3.770ff.) it is predicted that neighboring tribes will honor the hero at Leuke with incense and sacrifice. It is well documented that many of native descent had a role in the Pontarches stage of the cult at Olbia.[51] Some degree of participation by natives in earlier periods is also likely.[52] In the fifth century BCE opportunities for cooperation and influence could conceivably have arisen. Olbia was faced with an expanding and more unified Skythian culture and probably fell under Skythian protectorate; a striking prosopographical study indicates an apparent peak of non-Greek inhabitants at this time (Vinogradov 1997). Yet involvement in the hero cult of Achilles does not necessarily entail native influence on the cult.

Relevant are the stories of the Hellenized Anacharsis and Skyles, told by Herodotos (4.76–80) in his description of the Black Sea area. Both natives fell under the spell of Greek religious practice. Eventually they were killed by fellow Skythians who disapproved of their religious experimentation. These stories insist that a very firm boundary existed between Greek and native cultures. One might suspect that at a deeper level the tales reflect anxiety at actual interaction between Greeks and natives (Herodotos refers to the Kallippidai as "Helleno-Skythians," reminiscent of a later inscription referring to "half-Greeks").[53] Yet that still gives us no positive evidence for Skythian influence on Greek religion—far from it, because the stories of Anacharsis and Skyles feature natives interested in Greek religion, not the reverse.

If we move back further in time to the beginnings of Greek habitation in the northern Black Sea region, our attention is turned to Berezan, probably the earliest site of Greek colonization. There in the late seventh century a significant amount of interaction with native populations has been suspected, on the basis of hand-molded pottery and perhaps dugout dwellings.[54] Such an interpretation has now been vigorously denied (Buiskikh 2006:112 n.9; 128 n.43). Even further back a generation or two in the protocolonial period, Greek exploration and trade may have required significant interaction with Skythians. Yet once again there is no positive archaeological evidence for this. Certain places and time periods undoubtedly provided opportunity for native influence on the cult, but as far as we can tell, this did not happen. The Achilles cult itself, though displaying some striking characteristics, was manifested in ways typical elsewhere in the Greek religious world: Greek inscriptions, temples, priests, and altars.

The crude yet intriguing iconography found on the early votive cult disks found at Beikush certainly invites interpretation. Wavy lines (water?), branches, snakes, arrows, stick figures, boats (?), and the sun (?) appear on these disks. Naturally enough, the imagery has inspired much speculation, often involving Achil-



Votive disks for Achilles cult, sixth and early fifth centuries, Beikush. Illustration by Melinda Barnadas.

les' supposed native or chthonic characteristics.[55] The iconography is significant, but recourse to theories of native influence are unnecessary. Water or boats can refer to Achilles' Nereid mother, Thetis, as well to the hero's importance to sailors in the Black Sea. Snakes, as underground-dwelling and self-regenerating creatures, were often associated with heroes; weapons would naturally reflect the hero's epic character (Hedreen 1991:315–318). One remarkable recent find from the sixth century depicts a hoplite with a votive form of Achilles' name, along with other broken-off words that may be the name of the votive worshiper.[56]

Some scholars looking back into Indo-European prehistory have linked Achilles with the mythology of northern Iranian races. The unique vulnerability of the Ossetian hero Soslan has been compared to the story of Achilles' heel, with the conclusion that an ancient Iranian concept passed into Greek mythology about Achilles in the sixth century through Skythians as intermediaries.[57] It is plausible enough that Skythians could serve as a conduit between Caucasian and Greek myth and culture.[58] If so, then the theory of Skythian influence on the cult of Achilles would need to be thought possible as well. But an Indo-European "ur-Achilles" or "proto-Achilles" could have easily led to entirely independent, if cognate, heroic conceptions in northern Iranian and Greek mythology.[59] Any perceived similarities between Achilles and a Caucasian hero need not be explained as the result of direct historical influence through Skythians.

There are extraordinary aspects to the cult of Achilles that require a flexible approach to distinctions commonly made between hero and divinity or paradise and underworld. Yet the intense interest in the origins of the cult has not produced anything more than speculation. We need not look to the natives of the

Black Sea to explain the how the cult of Achilles began. Nor should it be assumed that the cult's origins were in Miletos (Farnell 1921:286–287), because the Achilles cult did not exist in Milesian colonies outside of the north Black Sea. It is more probable that the cult arose out of long-standing mythological conceptions of the afterlife of Achilles in a complex process that cannot now be reconstructed. What we can conclude is that identification of a specific island in the Black Sea as Achilles' afterlife location resulted in a cult that had certain sociopolitical functions. Conceiving of the island Leuke as the location of Achilles' afterlife was natural for Greek sailors and traders exploring an area that had previously been considered supernatural. Other locations besides Leuke soon became the site of hero cult ritual for Achilles, and in time these served the ideological needs of the colony Olbia. Though dominated by Milesian colonists at Olbia, the cult also achieved Panhellenic fame; non-Greeks participated in the cult, but native or non-Greek origins for the cult is unlikely.

The afterlife of Achilles has been subject to many perspectives. The *Odyssey* portrayed Achilles in Hades, but usually the hero was placed in some paradisiacal location, like the Leuke that was featured in the *Aithiopis.* Leuke became identified with a Black Sea island, which gave rise to a hero cult in the general area. The Troad burial site, though localized in various places, may have been the site of cult ritual, and it certainly attracted visitation through the ages. The notional and real intersect at these locations. Achilles' afterlife was not just a matter of myth and poetry: the hero was worshiped by people in the ancient Greek world, and many have wished to identify the physical location of his burial—or afterlife.

It is important to realize that the variety of perspectives on the burial and afterlife of Achilles does not result from a few epics inventing stories about Achilles. Certain traditional themes persisted about Achilles' afterlife through time, though they became manifested in different ways through different media. A Troad tumulus for Achilles was traditional. It was acknowledged by the *Iliad, Odyssey,* and *Aithiopis,* though they were not necessarily in agreement on the details of the hero's burial. Usually Achilles was thought to have an afterlife, even if the *Iliad* suppresses this concept and the *Odyssey* presents Achilles in Hades, at one end of the heroic afterlife spectrum. Achilles' burial mound and afterlife were not invented by any particular epic but were part of larger mythological traditions that existed before and long after the composition of the Homeric and Cyclic poems.

Conclusion

The death and afterlife of Achilles were traditional narratives that should not be excluded from the Homeric poems. The *Iliad,* it is true, narrates just one episode from the Trojan War: the withdrawal and return of Achilles.[1] But the poem contains and reflects the larger story of Achilles' life and death. Non-Homeric mythology about Achilles is a thematically consistent body of traditional stories that seems to inform Homeric poetry. Homeric poetry does not simply know this material about Achilles; it manipulates it for its own poetic purposes. Regaining a sense of what the ancient audience knew about Achilles myth is therefore not an exercise in uncovering clues about the composition of the Homeric poems; it is an attempt to gain further understanding of the potential of their meaning. Homeric poetry is commonly portrayed as an overwhelming replacement of pre-Homeric tradition, but it is instead a respectful and dependent outgrowth of earlier myth and epic. The traditions from which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* stem are both assumed and appreciated by Homeric poetics.

From a modern perspective, it is natural to focus on the textual evidence that has survived and to try to establish lines of connection between specific poems. But it is misguided to reconstruct a lineage for texts that existed in a predominantly oral culture (though a relationship may exist between the two Homeric poems). What we now possess as texts once existed as performances within a flexible yet highly coherent mythological system. Today the few surviving texts may appear to be linked together in a chain of influence and imitation, yet their interconnections are actually not direct, but rather indirect, through the notional mythological traditions from which they were derived. Their intertextuality is not a matter of a few authors establishing some game of allusion and innovation, but a more complex process of interdependence, wherein traditional narrative played a major role, one that was at once unavoidable and welcome, in the ultimate meaning of the immediate narrative.

Certainly when we compare the evidence about Achilles' life, death, and afterlife, we see there was much variance. The mythological traditions were flexible

and ever changing, and each manifestation of a traditional story would contain its own idiosyncratic details. Yet the resulting variability of the surviving testimony should not prevent us from recognizing its thematic compatibility—or from constructing an artificial Achilles fabula to use in analysis of actual manifestations of the story of his death. Variance does not necessarily imply that single authors were challenging or rejecting other versions, or trying to break free from myth. Often the accounts that were different on the surface level shared the same concerns at a deeper level. In mythological traditions about Achilles, we have seen, certain themes reoccur. Achilles is swift-footed, as we keep being reminded by his Homeric epithets, and this quality is manifested in mythological episodes of his life, including his death. Achilles' semidivinity is essential to traditional stories about him, especially the continual efforts of Thetis to prevent a fated early death. In the mythological afterlife a special status of Achilles is common, and he was the recipient of cultic honor. The hero's afterlife status continued to remain open to interpretation in reception of the *Iliad* and non-Homeric traditions. Different locations and different chronological periods employed traditions of Achilles' afterlife to different uses, even as strands of thematic continuity persisted in conceptualizations of Achilles down through time. Some conceptions of Achilles undoubtedly influenced the composition of the *Iliad,* some were independent of Homeric concerns, and others were inspired by the Homeric poem, as well as non-Homeric traditions, in later antiquity and beyond. Many of these conceptions are essential to a complete appreciation of the poetics at work in the *Iliad,* some provide insights into its reception, and all are fascinating evidence of the charismatic spell of the great hero.

It is only to be expected, then, that the *Iliad* will be concerned with the death and afterlife of Achilles. This would not be in reaction to specific poems about Achilles but rather a response to the major actions and themes in traditional myth about the hero. In my analysis I have reconstructed what the essential aspects of this myth are, and I have demonstrated how the extra-Iliadic story of Achilles actually exists within the *Iliad.* One may have reservations about this or that detail of the analysis, of course. The description of the Achilles fabula, consisting of a sequence of motifs, is a notional construct without any existence as a "real" entity. And the establishment of Iliadic reflection of this story is highly speculative, as is any neoanalyst argument. In the end, the positing of sequences of reflected motifs may seem reductionist, but the analysis should serve well enough as a tool for comprehension of how Homeric poetry could use preexisting myth in a significant manner. The intent is not to argue for a controlling author who manipulated preexisting material with intentionalist ownership, but

rather to suggest the possibilities of ancient reception of the *Iliad* for an audience that came to the poem with extensive knowledge of traditional myth about Achilles. In the Archaic Age, I argue, the epic audience would commonly command a high degree of mythological knowledge and interpretive skill, and it would be very natural for the early audience to establish intertextual connections between the Homeric poem and its broader tradition. Yet the *Iliad* does more than passively rest on its tradition; it actively seeks to allude to external tales in a sophisticated manner. The metacyclic use of tradition is an essential and distinguishing characteristic of the poem. The *Iliad* assumes traditional narrative as a major element of its construction of meaning, and by recognizing this fact, we will expand our insight into the poem's potential.

What is the "meaning" of the *Iliad* thereby gained? It will be different for everyone, but I hope that a modern interpreter of the Homeric poem, after considering the ancient perspective, will be attuned to how its hero's qualities—such as his swiftness, or his semimortality, a topic of unending negotiation with his divine mother—existed in traditional narrative external to the Homeric poems, which in turn had impact upon the poetics internal to the *Iliad*. Through motif transference as a tool of significant allusion, the Homeric poem not only suggests the whole of the Trojan War but also reflects the story of its hero's death. Achilles' mortality is thereby emphasized, though the Homeric poems were well aware of other perspectives on Achilles' afterlife, which already probably included cult interest as well as mythopoetic narrative. And, as we saw in chapter 8, Achilles continued to fascinate different people in different places for different reasons throughout antiquity down to the present day. The *Iliad*'s story of Achilles contributed greatly to this fascination, but the *Iliad* itself had recourse to preexisting traditions in its own complex perspective on the hero.

The Fabula *of the Death of Achilles*

Achilles meets Memnon in battle and kills him, attacks Troy, and is killed by Apollo and Paris. The divine mothers Thetis and Eos are present and obtain a special afterlife for their sons after they are slain.

A. Memnon arrives to defend Troy; before battle Thetis predicts to Achilles that he will die shortly after Memnon's death.
B. Achilles duels with Memnon, who has killed Antilochos, and kills him; divine scales are used to signify the outcome.
C. Eos requests a special afterlife for Memnon; his corpse is removed from the field by divine intervention and buried.
D. Immediately after killing Memnon, Achilles routs the Trojans and attacks Troy.
E. Achilles is killed by Apollo and Paris by bow at the walls of Troy.
F. There is a battle over the corpse of Achilles (in which Glaukos is killed by Ajax), and Ajax carries the body to safety as Odysseus defends.
G. There is an elaborate funeral ceremony for Achilles, which Thetis, the Nereids, and the Muses attend; Thetis takes Achilles from the pyre to a paradisiacal location; the Greeks build a conspicuous funeral mound at Troy.
H. Games are held in honor of Achilles.

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Introduction

1. Basic resources on Achilles in myth and literature: Fleischer 1884–1886; Escher 1893; King 1987; Gantz 1993 (see index); Kossatz-Deissmann 1981a (iconography); Michelakis 2002 (Greek tragedy); Latacz 1995 (postantiquity). Definition of "myth": recently Calame 2003:8–27; Csapo 2005:1–9.

2. Iconography: R. Cook 1983:1–6; Snodgrass 1998; Hedreen 2001:3–12, 136–139. Lack of Homeric influence: Burgess 2001a.

3. Overviews: Osborne 1996:156–160; Burgess 2001a:49–53; van Wees 2002; E. Cook 2004:48–51.

4. Homeric performance traditions: Nagy 1996a:29–112; 1996b:109–11. Cyclic: Nagy 1990b:70–79; Burgess 2001a, 2002. Linguistic analysis of the Cycle poems: Davies 1989b; more cautiously, Burgess 2005:349. Generally for early epic: Janko 1982, emphasizing relative, not absolute, dating, though stating a preference for dating the Homeric poems in the eighth century.

5. "Metaepic" Homeric poetry: Finkelberg 1998:154–155; 2002:160; 2003a:79.

6. Homeric and Cyclic distinctions: cf. Griffin 1977; Burgess 2001a:132–171. See also Nagy 1990a:70–79 (Panhellenic vs. local nature); Dué 2002:3–22, 39–40, 87–88 (narrative expansion vs. compression).

7. See Burgess 2001a:140–142. The "join" between the last line of the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopis* does not likely reflect the composition of an early version of the Cyclic poem.

8. More skeptically: Andersen 1998; Scodel 2002; Calame 2003:7.

9. Narratology and Homeric poetry: de Jong 1987, 2001; S. Richardson 1990; on *fabula,* see de Jong 1987:xiv, 31–32; 2001:xiv.

Chapter 1 · The Early Life of Achilles

1. For a modern poetic account of Achilles' life, see Elizabeth Cook 2002.

2. Theseus "cycle" cups: Neils 1987, esp. 143–148; *LIMC,* "Theseus," nos. 32–60. Multiple scenes of Herakles' labors: *LIMC,* "Herakles," nos. 1697–1761.

3. Originally independent of the Trojan War: Lang 1995. Integral to Zeus' plan for the Trojan War: schol. *Il.* 1.5 (Bernabé *ad Kypria* fr. 1 B); see Mayer 1996; Burgess 2001a: 149–150; Cingano 2005:118–199, 128–129.

4. For thematic approaches to Achilles, cf. Nagy 1979; Muellner 1996; Mackie 1998; Hedreen 2001:120–181.

5. Failed attempts to prevent predestined death is a folktale motif: Hansen 2002: 14–15, with bibliography.

6. For more detail, see Burgess 1995, with extensive references to Berthold 1911:35–43; Young 1979; and Gantz 1993:625–628. See also Lacroix 1987; Balensiefen 1996; Mackie 1998; Hansen 2002:483–485; Heslin 2005:166–169; West 2007:444–446. I have also benefited from a presentation on the topic by Peter Heslin at a conference at the University of Leeds in 1996.

7. Sources: (Ajax) Gantz 1993:631–634; Hansen 2002:485–488; (Kaineus) Gantz 1993:280–281; (Talos) Gantz 1993:364–365. Cf. the invulnerable Nemean lion hide of Herakles (Gantz 1993:383–384), Herakles' invulnerable opponent Asteros in the *Meropis* (Bernabé 1987:131–135), invulnerability and Meleager (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2, with Frazer 1921 ad loc.). On the invulnerability of Achilles' armor, see subsequent discussion in the text.

8. Unique vulnerability in folktale: Thompson 1955–1958, Z 311ff. As an Indo-European motif: West 2007: 445–446. Applied to a Skythian prototype of the Ossetian figure Soslan, subsequently transferred to Achilles in the Black Sea region: Thordarson 1972.

9. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 5–18; cf. Kemp-Lindemann 1975:3–6. Achilles' first bath (collected at *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 1–4) is an entirely different scene (see Kemp-Lindemann 1975:2), though conflation is possible. The authenticity of some early images has been disputed.

10. Lactant. *ad Achil.* 1.134, 269, 480; Fulg. *Myth.* 3.7; schol. Hor. *Epod.* 13.12; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6. 57; Vatican mythographers 1.36, 178, 2. 205, 3.11.24 (Bode).

11. Cf. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.816 = Hes. fr. 300 M-W (for the *Aigimios*); Ap. Rhod. 4.869–879; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.6; schol. *Il.* 16.37; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.178; schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1068; Tzetz. *ad* Lykoph. 178 (with Lykophron 178–179). Cf. Demeter's treatment of Demophoon at *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* at 231–245; Isis and a nursling at Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 16. Medea's ability to rejuvenate in a cauldron of boiling water is also relevant (see Gantz 1993:367). Idiosyncratic version of the tale type: Ptolemy Hephaistian (Photius *Bibl.* 190).

12. Destructive properties of the Styx: Waser 1909–1915:1574–1577. Cf. the nearby river Periphlegethon ("All-ablaze") at *Od.* 10.513. Egyptian origin for a fiery Styx: E. Cook 1992:253 n.47. Designation of the Styx as "immortal" in early epic denotes ability to confer immortality: West 1966:377–378; Nagy 1979:188–189; Hansen 2002: 485.

13. Garner 1993:159, on fr. 43.ii.8. The article associates a number of fragments (also in the appendix of *PMGF,* "Ineditorum Stesichoreorum") with the death and funeral of Achilles.

14. Berthold 1911:35–36; Young 1979:13.

15. Cf. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 565* = "Apollon," no. 880 (BM E 468), "Achilleus," no. 56 = "Apollon," no. 881* (Vatican 16547 [H 502]), "Achilleus," no. 570* = "Apollon," no. 880a (Vatican 16563 [H 545]). See also Pinney 1983:141.

16. A sixth-century vase shows an arrow in flight, among many others, near the heel of a dead warrior on the ground (Siana cup, Berlin 3402; identified as Achilles' death scene at Brijder 1991:430–43). I thank Peter Heslin for bringing this to my attention and discussing it with me *per litteras.* See also Burgess 1995:227 on a seventh-century fragmented vase image in Athens (*LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 848 [ill.] = "Alexandros," no. 93; Athens, NM Perachora II 27).

17. *LIMC,* "Alexandros," no. 97* = "Achle," no. 126 (Copenhagen 14066). Cf. Kemp-Lindemann 1975:220–221 (where the chased man is identified as Aeneas; thus Hampe and Krauskopf 1981 under *LIMC,* "Alexandros," no. 97).

18. Aiming at Achilles' right front foot: Hampe and Simon 1964:49; heel: Hampe and Krauskopf 1981:254. Other interpretations: Hampe and Krauskopf 1981 under *LIMC,* "Alexandros," no. 97; Kemp-Lindemann 1975:220–221; Gantz 1993:626.

19. *LIMC,* "Apollon," no. 882 = "Achilleus" no. 851 = "Alexandros," no. 92* (Bochum Ruhr-Univ. S 1060). See Kunisch 1989.

20. Examples collected under *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 853 (Berlin FG 579); cf. "Achle" nos. 128–133; cf. *LIMC,* "Diomedes," no. 114. See further Balensiefen 1996.

21. Examples collected under *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 891a* (Berlin FG 647); cf. "Achle" nos. 139–146. See Kemp-Lindemann 1975:225–226; Burgess 2001a:36.

22. Cf. a bronze pan from the early Roman Empire that shows a warrior carrying another warrior, the schema usually associated with Ajax and Achilles, with the corpse wounded in the thigh and in the breast (*LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 895; St. Petersburg, Hermitage B 407).

23. Paton 1912; Berthold 1911:37ff.; P. Kakridis 1961 (esp.). Accepted by Griffin 1977:40, 1980:167; M. Edwards 1987a:3–4, 68, 137, 236, 295–296, 1991:140–141, 322; Janko 1992:310–311, 334, 409.

24. Rose and Robertson 1970:5 (briefly). In an anonymous medieval *Excidium Troiae,* Paris shoots Achilles in a uniquely vulnerable location with a poison arrow (King 1987:203–204). Cf. the death of Eurydike by poisonous snake (sources: Gantz 1993:722–724). The new fragment 43 of Stesichoros may compare the arrow that struck Achilles on the ankle to a snake hiding in the thicket (Garner 1993:159). Cf. Diarmid in Celtic mythology, with his sole pierced by a boar bristle sometimes thought to be venomous (Green 1992:81).

25. Cf. Robert 1920–1926:1187 n.3; Pestalozzi 1945:17; Hampe and Simon 1964:48; Burgess 1995:234–237.

26. Achilles' epithets: Shive 1987. Thematic significance of "swift-footed" Achilles: Whallon 1969:14–17; Foley 1991:139–143; Dunkle 1997; Hedreen 2001:131; Friedrich 2002:8–11 (significant lack of formulaic usage at *Il.* 22.138); Graziosi and Haubold 2005:51–53. "Swift" linked to "swift-fated": Pucci 1993:262.

27. Sources: Gantz 1993:628, 658–659; King 1987:184–195. That Dionysios the tyrant of Syracuse in first half of fourth century invented this variant: Grosshardt 2005:238–239. Achilles' erotic interest in Polyxena, if not his death in the temple, ex-

isted already in the Archaic Age: M. Robertson 1990, on the basis of iconographical evidence. The sacrifice of Polyxena over the grave of Achilles was known in the Archaic Age (chapter 6).

28. Sources: Gantz 1993:581–582; Dowden 1989:53–55. Wide-ranging discussion: Heslin 2005. Early sources indicate a later encounter with Deidameia at Skyros, leading to the birth of Neoptolemos. On a raid: *Il.* 19.326–327, 9.666–668; cf. 24.467. Blown off course following the Teuthranian expedition: the *Kypria* (Proklos), apparently the *Ilias Mikra* (fr. 24 Bernabé [under "*incerti operis*"]). Cf. schol. to *Il.* 19.236: Peleus, not Thetis, hid Achilleus at Skyros.

29. Friis Johansen 1967:92–127, 257–260; M. Edwards 1990:316–321; 1991:156–157; Barringer 1995:17–48. *Contra:* Lowenstam 1993a. Key literary passages: Eur. *El.* 442–452, *I.A.* 1067–1079. According to the *Iliad* the gods gave Peleus armor at his wedding, and he later gave it to Achilles (17.194–197, 18.84–85; a Homeric invention: M. Edwards 1990:320). On the invulnerability of the armor, see chapter 3.

30. J. Heath 1992, esp. 390–392; M. Edwards 1990:316–317, 320.

31. A recent fragment of Stesichoros may refer to this urn in this context: Garner 1993:162–163.

32. Leaf 1971 *ad* 23.92. That both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* mention this amphora breaks "Monro's law" that the *Odyssey* does not repeat material in the *Iliad* (Monro 1901:325).

33. Stewart 1983, using as evidence Stesichoros fr. 234 *PMG* (Dionysos thanks Thetis with the amphora for rescue from Lykurgos; see Haslam 1991:44–45) and the François vase (Dionysos possibly with the amphora in the wedding scene; *LIMC,* "Dionysus," no. 496*, Florence 4209).

34. Sheppard 1922:9; Whitman 1958:188; Kullmann 1960:309; Mueller 1984:31–32; Hainsworth 1993 *ad* 9.410–416 (perhaps); Barringer 1995:45–46. Cf. West 2007:402–403.

35. Survey of the sources: Frazer 1921, 2:198 n.1. This prophecy in the *Kypria:* Davies 1989a:47.

36. Deaths of Tenes and Troilos linked with death of Achilles: Dowden 1989:61–62. Thematic and causal connections in myths of Iphigeneia, Polyxena, Troilos, and Astyanax: Hedreen 2001:120–181.

37. Kullmann 1960:221–223. Contrasted with Homeric usage: Schadewaldt 1965: 192–193; Kullmann 1960:310, 313–314; Griffin 1977:48.

38. Weitzmann 1959:54–59; Kemp-Lindemann 1975:232–242 (convenient graph at 256–257); Kossatz-Deissmann 1981a:53–55; Stutzinger 1983–84; Delvoye 1984. Notable examples include multiple fragmentary terracotta platters from North Africa (see Poulou-Papademetriou 1994), the marble wellhead in Rome (Capitoline Mus. 64), the "Tensa Capitolina" triumphal chariot with bronze reliefs in Rome (Capitoline Mus., Palazzo dei Conservatori 966.1872), the silver platter from the Kaiseraugst hoard (Kaiseraugst Mus. 62.1). For these and other examples of iconography on Achilles' childhood, see *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 1–93. On "cyclic" iconography: Robert 1881: 46–47; Weitzmann 1970:12–36; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999:136–155 ("syntagmatic").

39. A Hellenistic *Achilleid:* Weitzmann 1959:54. Statius as source: Heslin 2005:169 n.29.

40. *LIMC,* "Amazones," no. 168* = "Achilleus," no. 719 = "Penthesileia," no. 8 (Nauplion 4509); ca. 700 BCE.

41. Burgess 2004b:38–42 (on a comparable collocation of images on an early Attic stand, Munich 8936).

42. Berlin Protoattic vase: *LIMC,* "Achilles," no. 21* = "Cheiron," no. 44 (Berlin 31573 [A9]). Animal diet of Achilles (Statius *Achill.* 2.96–200; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.6; cf. Pind. *Nem.* 3.43–52): D. Robertson 1940; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981a:53; Heslin 2005:173–175. Swiftness of Achilles: Dunkle 1997, and below in chapter 3.

43. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 187* = "Neoptolemus," no. 3 = "Peleus" no. 228 (Athens NM 507).

44. Hampe and Simon 1964:53–67 ("Achilleus-Zyklus"), with illustrations. *LIMC,* "Achle," nos. 100*, 123*, 148*; "Cheiron," 82* (NY 03.23.1). See Lowenstam 2008 for discussion, including the complex issue of Etruscan reception of Greek mythology and iconography. Eisenberg 2007 argues that the upper panels are modern forgeries.

45. Arming of Achilles iconography: Burgess 2001a:39–40. For the duel with Memnon, see chapter 2.

46. Polyxena is also considered a candidate for the female figure; on the sacrifice of Polyxena, see chapter 6. For interpretation of the scene, see Lowenstam 2008 (representation of the general destructiveness of Achilles toward females).

47. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 182 ("uncertain;" St. Petersburg дН 1863.1/435, Rostov KP 1638/17, Kiev AZ5–1416). See Kemp-Lindemann 1975:51; Stähler and Nieswandt 1991–1992 (Iranian interpretation); Heinen 2001:10–15; Treister 1999. Stunning illustrations: Reeder 1999, catalog no. 105; Aruz et al. 2000, catalog no. 162. I have profited from the creative interpretation of Sara Chumbley at the Black Sea conference in Ankara in 2001 ("the representations go beyond the theme of Achilles on Skyros to show an entire cycle connected with the Greek hero"; conference abstracts, 14–15).

Chapter 2 · The Death of Achilles

1. de Jong 1987:xiv, 31–32; 2001:xiv.

2. Propp 1984 (analysis: Csapo 2005:190–199). Cf. Kullmann 1960:12–13 on a pre-Homeric mythological "Faktenkanon."

3. Historical origins for Memnon in Bronze Age Egypt: R. Griffith 1998; cf. Burgess 2001a:159–160; 2004b:47–48. In Linear B there is the seemingly proper name Aἰθίοψ (ai-ti-jo-qo; see S. Morris 1997:615; Wachter 2000:211).

4. Memnon invented after the *Iliad:* cf. Reinhardt 1961:350–351; M. West 2003:6–7. Responses to M. West 2003: Burgess 2004b; Kullmann 2005; Currie 2006:28 n.27.

5. Cf. *Aen.* 1.489; Ser. *ad Aen.* 1.751 (quoted at Bernabé 1987:68); Aristoph. *Frogs* 963.

6. Pestalozzi 1945:43; Schadewaldt 1965:171; Schoeck 1961:53–54; Kullmann 2005:16. See also Boedeker 1974:83–84; M. Edwards 1990:316–321; Currie 2006:28–29.

7. Boedeker 1974; followed at Nagy 1979:205 n.3; Slatkin 1991:28–33.

8. Snodgrass 1979:120–122; Kannicht 1982:76; Burkert 1987:47.

9. Duel between Hektor and Achilles in the sixth century: *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos.

558–559, 562, 567; "Achle," no. 118; "Hektor," nos. 57, 63, 65, 67. See Burgess 2001a:67. For the duel between Achilles and Memnon, see motif B.

10. Welcker 1865–1882 2:173; Pestalozzi 1945:9; Schadewaldt 1965:156, 159; Kullmann 1960:37–39; Schoeck 1961:8. See M. Edwards 1991 *ad* 18.95–96.

11. Cf. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 807–847; "Achle," nos. 122–124, 127; "Memnon," nos. 14–60 (see also no. 98); "Eos," nos. 300–316; "Eos/Thesan," no. 35; "Thetis," pp. 12–13. See Kemp-Lindemann 1975:209–217; Ahlberg-Cornell 1992:70–71.

12. *LIMC,* "Antilochos I," no. 26 = "Memnon," no. 12* = "Achilleus," no. 845 (ill.; Paris, Cab. Méd. 3319). See Sadurska 1964:56–57 (pl. xi); the inscriptions are cited at *Aithiopis* test. 9 Bernabé. For other uncertain depictions of the death of Antilochos, cf. *LIMC,* "Antilochos I," no. 7* (Athens 3492, with inscription), 25 (private collection); Ahlberg-Cornell 1992:70.

13. Achilles attacks Memnon the day after the death of Antilochos: Quintus of Smyrna. Achilles first attends a funeral for Antilochos: Philostr. *Heroik.* 168.26.18–19 and Philostr. *Imag.* 2.7 (*LIMC,* "Antilochos I" no. 35 = "Memnon" no. 13; perhaps not based on an artifact).

14. See also Pin. *Pyth.* 6.28–42, *Nem.* 3.61–63, 6.49–53, *Isthm.* 5.39–41, 8.54–56.

15. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 846 = "Aias I," no. 74* (Athens NM 911). See Burgess 2004b:36–46 for discussion and interpretation, as well as speculation on earlier images of the duel.

16. Cf. *LIMC,* "Eos," nos. 293–299; "Eos/Thesan," nos. 33–34; "Hermes," nos. 622–629; "Achilleus," nos. 797–806; "Memnon," nos. 14–25 (see also no. 98); "Thetis," pp. 12–13; Kemp-Lindemann 1975:204–209. For exploration of the *psychostasia* motif, notably in connection with a Mycenaean fresco, see Burgess 2004b.

17. Quint. Smyrn. 2.507–513, 540–541. Aesch. *Psychostasia:* Radt 1977–1985, 3: 374–377, F 279–280. Achilles material in lost Aeschylus's plays, including the *Psychostasia:* M. West 2000a (with proposal that the *Psychostasia* was actually composed by Aeschylus's son Euphorion). Cf. the scales used to determine the literary duel of Aeschylus and Euripides at Aristoph. *Frogs* 1364–1410.

18. *Il.* 22.209–213; cf. the use of scales for the outcome of battle for the Greeks and Trojans at *Il.* 8.68–74. Brief allusions to the scales of Zeus: 16.658, 19.223–224.

19. Cf. *LIMC,* "Memnon," nos. 61–92; "Eos," nos. 317–333; "Eos/Thesan," nos. 36–45.

20. Eos requests from Zeus permission to take her son from Troy: Philostr. *Imag.* 1.7 (*LIMC,* "Memnon," no. 92). In many later accounts the honor obtained from Zeus at the request of Eos is the transformation of his ashes or followers into the birds called the Memnonides (e.g., Ov. *Met.* 13.576–622).

21. E. Vermeule 1979:36. In the fifth century Polygnotos portrayed Memnon and other barbarians in the underworld (*LIMC,* "Memnon," no. 93; Pausanias 10.31.5). Return to the marginal Aithiopians compared to heroic immortality at outlying paradisiacal islands: Nagy 1979:213.

22. Cf. Pley 1931:641–642; Holland 1894–1997:2654–2655; Robert 1920–1926:2.1184; Erskine 2001:109. At Pindar *Nem.* 6.49–53, it is specified that Memnon did not return home. One vase scene may depict Eos bringing the ashes of Memnon to Tithonos

(*LIMC,* "Memnon," no. 78 = "Eos," no. 332*; Paris Louvre G232; ca. 480 BCE). Rohde 1925:64 argues that Eos revived the corpse of Memnon in the East.

23. See Pley 1931:641–642; cf. the arrangements of the relevant *LIMC* articles.

24. *LIMC,* "Memnon," no. 65* = "Eos," 319 (Hamburg KG 1983.274). Philostr. *Imag.* 1.7 ("Memnon," no. 92) describes the Aithiopians mourning their dead leader; at Quint. Smyrn. 2.642–650, they bury Memnon and are changed into the Memnonides by Eos.

25. *LIMC* "Eos," no. 320 = "Memnon," no. 69 = "Thanatos," no. 13* (Athens NM 505), early fifth century. Possible Etruscan images of the scene: Bothmer 1981:78 (figs. 85, 86); "Eos/Thesan," no. 42 (Paris Cab. Med. M 6184), with discussion.

26. Cf. *LIMC,* "Eos," nos. 317–319, 322–333; "Eos/Thesan," nos. 36–45; "Memnon," nos. 62–89; Bothmer 1981:75–76; Clark and Coulson 1978:71. *LIMC,* "Eos," no. 327* = "Memnon," no. 91 (Vatican 16589) may show Eos mourning over the body of her son.

27. *LIMC,* "Alexandros," no. 97* = "Achle," 126 (Copenhagen 14066), discussed in chapter 1.

28. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 848–859. See Burgess 1995:235–236.

29. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 854 (Rome, Capitoline Mus. 316; see Sadurska 1964:27, 52, 56 [pl. i, x, xi]), 856 = no. 616* (Paris Cab. Med., Berthouville cat. 5), 896* ("Tensa Capitolina," Rome, Capitoline Mus., Palazzo dei Conservatori 966).

30. See Frazer 1921, 2:214 n.1; Escher 1893:238–239; Fleischer 1884–1886:47–48. Apollo as sole killer: e.g., Simon. fr.11.7–8 West (on which see Barchiesi 2001), Aesch. fr. 350 Radt = Pl. *Rep.* 383a–b, Soph. *Philoct.* 334–335; cf. Stesichoros new fragment 69.2, where Apollo is mentioned, apparently in the context of the death of Achilles (Garner 1993:159). Paris alone: e.g., Eur. *Androm.* 655, *Hek.* 387–388; cf. Alcman fr. 70b *PMG,* with Page's interpretation. The fragmented *Paian* 6 of Pindar apparently stated that Apollo was disguised as Paris when he slew Achilles. Amphiaraus killing Achilles(!): *LIMC,* "Achle," no. 127 (ill.; Tarquinia 322), probably random assignation of heroic names (see Camporeale 1981:213).

31. *LIMC,* "Apollon," no. 882 = "Achilleus," no. 851 = "Alexandros," 92* (Bochum Ruhr-Univ. S 1060); "Apollon/Apollo," no. 497 = "Achilles," no. 857* = "Alexandros," no. 101 ("Tensa Capitolina," Rome, Capitoline Mus., Palazzo dei Conservatori 966; in the Thymbraean temple of Apollo); "Achilleus," no. 855 = "Alexandros," no. 99* (Castellamare 2523; also, apparently, in the temple). Cf. representations depicting Apollo with significant display of an arrow as Achilles kills Hektor (see chapter 1).

32. *LIMC,* "Glaukos V," no. 9 = "Achilleus," no. 850* (lost).

33. Ajax about to lift the corpse: *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 849, 853c, 854 and 854a, 859; "Achle," nos. 134, 135 (ill.). Ajax carrying Achilles: *LIMC,* "Achilleus," 860–896; "Achle," 136–146. (*LIMC,* "Aias I," directs the reader to *LIMC,* "Achilleus," entry.) For early representations, see Burgess 2001a:185.

34. *LIMC,* "Alexandros," no. 98 (Perugia) = "Achle," no. 135 (ill.).

35. Homeric scholia collected at *Aithiopis* fr. 3 Bernabé: the Cyclic poets or the "neoteroi" give these roles for Ajax and Odysseus.

36. See Bernabé 1987:69, 76, and *Ilias Mikra* fr. 2. Reversal of roles, with Odysseus carrying the corpse and Ajax defending: papyrus fragment of an unknown poem

(*Ilias Mikra* fr. 32 Bernabé ["*fragmentum dubium*"]; attributed to the *Ilias Mikra* by Bravo 2001, arguing that role reversal is temporary); scholia to *Od.* 5.310 (in error: Severyns 1928:320). That the role reversal predates the usual account: J. Kakridis 1986 (but early representations depict Ajax carrying the corpse: Burgess 2001a:36). Ironically, the *Iliad*'s portrayal of Ajax defending while the corpse of Patroklos is carried off may be a modified reflection of the *fabula* (chapter 5) that influenced later versions of it.

37. Skeptical: Kemp-Lindemann 1975; T. Carpenter 1991:206–207. Majority view: Fittschen 1969:179–181; Friis Johansen 1967:30; Kossazt-Deissmann 1981a:192 (see especially); Ahlberg-Cornell 1992:35–38. Aristodamos is inscribed on a shield band relief: *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 863 (Olympia B236).

38. Pin. *Pyth.* 3.100–103: the grief of the Greeks when the body of Achilles is burned on his pyre; *Isthm.* 8.56–60: the Muses sing by the pyre and burial mound.

39. A number of recently found fragments of Stesichoros may describe the preparation of the corpse for burial, the Nereids rising from the sea, and speeches during the ceremony (Garner 1993:160). The *Psychostasia* by Aeschylus, as reconstructed at M. West 2000a:342–343, ends in the *Nereids* with the funeral of Achilles (*contra:* Michelakis 2002:53 n.71). The grief of the Achaians is stressed by Homer (*Od.* 24.45–46), Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.100–103), Apollodoros (*Epit.* 5.5), and Quintus of Smyrna (3.665–671); Nagy 1979:69–117 (see esp. 70 n.1) defends the etymological link of "Achilles" to ἄχος (grief) and λαός (people).

40. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 897* = "Nereides," no. 415 (Paris, Louvre E 643); cf. Kemp-Lindemann 1975:227. See Barringer 1995:49–58 (Barringer 1995 more widely explores a link between Nereids and heroic afterlife); Burgess 2001a:92–93.

41. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," nos. 898 (Rome, Capitoline Mus. 316), 899 (lost). See Kemp-Lindemann 1975:227–228; Sadurska 1964:29, 51 (pl. i, x).

42. A. Edwards 1985; Burgess 2001a:167–168; Currie 2005:48–55. Only other certain depictions of Achilles in Hades: a lost work by Polygnotos (Pausanias 10.30.3; *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 900); Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 6, 26; perhaps "Achle," no. 147 (Etruscan tomb of Orcus; cf. Kemp-Lindemann 1975:228–229, 231).

43. *Nem.* 4.49–50; *Androm.* 1260–1262; *Iphigen. Taur.* 430–438. Pausanias (3.19.11–20.1) might be interpreted as indicating that Stesichoros mentioned Leuke in his palinode; there is an obscure reference to Leuke at Lykophron 188.

44. Also Pl. *Symp.* 179E; Attic skolion, fr. 894 *PMG.* Garner thinks (1993:162) that a recently found fragment of Stesichoros (65.7) refers to Achilles' afterlife in such a place. Cf. Hes. *Works and Days* 156–173: heroes who died in the Theban and Trojan wars go to the Isles of the Blessed.

45. Ibyk. and Simon. (schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.814–815 = fr. 291, 558 *PMG*); Ap. Rhod. 4.811; Quint. Smyrn. 14.223–226. Cf. *Ilias Mikra* fr. 32 Bernabé ("fragmentum dubium"); argued to be authentic at Bravo 2001. No paradise is named, but a divinity speaks of Rhadamanthus in phraseology similar to the passage on Elysion at *Od.* 4.564; see J. Kakridis 1986:64.

46. Achilles with afterlife consort, often Medea, sometimes Helen, or even Polyxena: see Escher 1893:240–241; Fleischer 1884–1886:56.

47. See Frazer 1921, 2:216 n.1. Burial at Leuke does not fit the context, because the Greeks as a whole are involved in the burial and Apollodoros subsequently says Achilles is at the Isles of the Blessed.

48. *LIMC,* "Aias I," nos. 103–141; see Burgess 2001a:36, 185–186.

Chapter 3 · The Destiny of Achilles in the Iliad

1. Passages and discussion: Duckworth 1933:28–29; Kullmann 1960:308–314, 320–326; M. Edwards 1991:158; Taplin 1992:196–202.

2. Kullmann 1960:321; M. Edwards 1991:81–82; J. Heath 1992:391.

3. Predictions of the deaths of Sarpedon, Patroklos, and Hektor by the narrator and Zeus: Rutherford 1982:153–155; Morrison 1992:141 nn.36–38. Narrative authority of narrator and Zeus: de Jong 1987:97, 170, 178, 193, 225–228; Morrison 1992:17–18.

4. Different perspectives that grant a lesser role to tradition in the audience's comprehension of the death of Achilles: Morrison 1992:80, 113 (Homeric misdirection of audience); Taplin 1992:245–246 (eventually comprehension by audience through accumulation of invented details).

5. Kirk 1985:89–90; Slatkin 1991:34–38.

6. For passages, see 1.396–397, 16.220–224, 18.57–59–60, 89–90; cf. 19.421–422 with Griffin 1980:125. Iliadic inconsistency: Robbins 1990:2 n.5, 1993:7–8; Andersen 1990:40–41. Differently, Burgess 2001a:224 n.148.

7. Willcock 1977:52, cf. 1978–1984 *ad* 17.408 and 18.9; cf. chapter 1 on prophecy in the Epic Cycle.

8. *Pace* Leaf 1971 *ad* 17.408 and 18.10–11 (concluding multiple authorship); see Rutherford 1982:156 n.54; Barth 1989:17; M. Edwards 1991:102.

9. M. Edwards 1991:101–102. Differently, that Thetis had told Achilles that neither he nor Patroklos would sack Troy: Barth 1989:14–16, adducing Apollo's words at 16. 707–709.

10. On ad hoc invention, see Burgess 2001a:48–49, 154–155.

11. Cf. *Od.* 9.507–516, 10.330–332, 13.172–178. Probably Agamemnon misunderstands the prophecy reported by Demodokos at *Od.* 8.75–82, that the "best of the Achaians" would someday quarrel.

12. Some scholars rejected the passage for this reason: see Leaf 1971 ad loc. Defense of the characterization (besides Leaf): Willcock 1978–1984 ad loc.; M. Edwards 1991 ad loc.; Barth 1989:4–11. That the phrase "best of Myrmidons" actually suits Achilles, for whom Patroklos is the ritual substitute: Nagy 1979:34. It would be pedantic to ask why Thetis did not warn Achilles of the immediate danger when Patroklos sets out: Taplin 1992:198.

13. Willcock 1977:52, 1978–1984 *ad* 9.410–416 and *ad* 16.50–51; M. Edwards 1991: 142–143. Cf. the pathos of Andromache's ignorance of Hektor's death in book 22.

14. Leaf 1971 *ad* 9.411; Hainsworth 1993:116–117; M. Edwards 1991:101–102.

15. Differently de Jong 1987:280 n.59: perhaps a second prophecy after a prophecy about a choice.

16. Kullmann 1960:308–309; Macleod 1982:10; Mueller 1984:32.

17. Willcock 1977:49, 1978:17, 1978–1984 *ad* 9.410–416; Hainsworth 1993 *ad* 9.410–416.

18. Cf. Fenik 1968:24, 148–149; Kullmann 1960:309, 1981:24–25, 1991:441 n.65.

19. Whitman 1958:188; Willcock 1978:17; M. Edwards 1987a:224. Cf. the choice given to Polydeukes by Zeus at Pin. *Nem.* 10.80ff., or to Phineus in Argonautica myth (Gantz 1993:350).

20. Sheppard 1922:77; Owen 1946:101; Whitman 1958:188; Mueller 1984:31; Slatkin 1991:34.

21. Monro 1893 ad loc.; Leaf 1971 ad loc.; Willcock 1978:15, 1978–1984 ad loc. (perhaps); Barth 1989:22.

22. Similarly Barth 1989:22; see also Janko 1992 *ad* 16.49–50.

23. Willcock 1978–1984 ad loc., 1978:16–17. *Contra:* Scodel 1989:91 n.1, arguing that Nestor has a different warning in mind.

24. Owen 1946:148 for an insightful, if psychologizing, explanation.

25. E.g., Bethe 1927:89–90. On the variety of conceptions on the role of Paris and Apollo in Achilles' death, see motif E, chapter 2.

26. King 1987:4–6; Slatkin 1991:34–38.

27. Cf. Whitman 1958:188; Schadewaldt 1965:260–263; Kullmann 2000:402–405; Frame 1978:120–124; Rutherford 1982:146, 152–158; Janko 1992:5–6, 322.

Chapter 4 · Intertextuality and Oral Epic

1. Early epic: Pucci 1987, 1998; Danek 1998:13–15; Holmberg 1998:474; Dowden 2004:201–202; R. Fowler 2004:228–230; Calame 2005:9–14 (on intertextuality between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* see further below). Recent intertextual methodology in Latin verse: Hinds 1998; D. Fowler 2000; Edmunds 2001 (Conte 1986 has been influential). For Hellenistic literature intertextual analysis is common, but general studies are scarce; for an overview: Hopkinson 1988:6–11.

2. The term *intertextuality* was coined by Kristeva; see esp. Kristeva 1980:36–91. Useful general discussions: Jenny 1982; Genette 1997:1–15; G. Allen 2000; D. Fowler 2000.

3. E.g., Riffaterre argues that "ungrammaticalities" produce intertextual significance in a controlled and recognizable manner (see esp. 1978:195 n.27; 1983:6).

4. Nagy 1979:42; see also Nagy 1990a:53–54. Critique at Rutherford 2000:125–126, with response at Nagy 2003:8–9.

5. Applied to the Cyclic epics: Nagy 1990a:70–79.

6. Beye 1993:30–34, 262–265; Clay 1997:241–246 (reply at Nagy 2003:7–19).

7. Nagy 2003:9–10. Defense: Pucci 1987:27–28; Pedrick 1994:85, 94 nn.38, 39.

8. Pucci 1987:63–64, 198, esp. n.21, 209–213, 216, 220. See also Pucci 1998:5–6.

9. Pucci 1987:17, 143. Cf. Cairns 2000:11.

10. Burkert 1997; Usener 1990; Danek 1998:509–512; Korenjak 1998; Rutherford 2000; Schein 2001; Rengakos 2002; Currie 2006:7–15. The *Iliad* was not known to the poet of the *Odyssey,* argued Page 1955:158–159, citing "Monro's law" that the *Odyssey* does not repeat material in the *Iliad* (Monro 1901:325). Many prefer to see this as self-conscious avoidance; see Nagy 1979:20–21.

11. Agonistic nature of Greek verse: M. Griffith 1990; Ford 2002:272–293; Collins

2004. Diachronic permutations of rival performance traditions: Aloni 1986:51–67; Nagy 1990a:70–79; Burgess 2002; Marks 2002, 2003.

12. Woodhouse 1930:242–243; Lord 1960:151; Willcock 1976:287; M. Edwards 1987a: 64, 1990:316, 1991:17–18; M. Anderson 1997:56; M. West 2003:6; Dowden 2004:201; Allan 2005:14 n.62. The Cyclic poems were often ascribed to Homer in antiquity: Burgess 2001a:8.

13. Introduction of the term: J. Kakridis 1949:1–10. Concise summaries: Kullmann 1981, 1991; Willcock 1997.

14. Opposition or revision: Dihle 1970:9–44; Burgess 1997, 2001a:61ff.; M. West 2003; Allan 2005; Kelly 2006. Defense: Kullmann 1960:29–50, 1977, 2002, 2005.

15. On the term *motif:* Todorov 1981:48; Bremond 1982.

16. Neoanalyst method applied to the *Odyssey:* Katz 1991:7–14; Heubeck 1992; Danek 1998.

17. Earlier work anticipated neoanalysis: Kullmann 1960:1–3, 1981:6–7, 1991:428–429; M. West 2003:2–4. Davison 1962:254–258 and Kullmann 1986 discuss Mülder 1910 and Welcker 1865–1882 respectively as prototypical Neoanalysts.

18. Kullmann 1960:2 n.3, 152 n.2, 372 nn.2, 3, 374, 1981:13–18, 27–42, 2002:170–173; J. Kakridis 1971:19–20.

19. Schoeck 1961; Fenik 1964; Heubeck 1978; Kullmann 1984 (though see Kelly 2006:2 n.4); Slatkin 1991; Janko 1992; M. Edwards 1990, 1991; Danek 1998; Burgess 2001a; Finkelberg 2003b.

20. Overviews: Kullmann 1991:428–430; Willcock 1997:175–176. Kullmann has favored a seventh-century date for the *Iliad* but insists his arguments do not depend on a pre-Homeric date for the Cycle poems.

21. Kopff 1983; Dowden 1996 (nuanced; cf. Dowden 2004:201); Ballabriga 1998: 22–32.

22. Dihle 1970:149–150; A. Edwards 1985:219–220; Davies 1989a:5.

23. Cyclic imitation of Homeric verse: Kirk 1976:183–200; Curti 1993; typology: Notopoulos 1964:18–45; Burkert 1981.

24. J. Kakridis 1949:72–73, 84; Dowden 1996; Currie 2006:40–41.

25. On epic "immanence": Foley 1991, 1995:42–47, 1999:13–34. Cf. intertextuality of "anonymous ensemble," such as technique, style, genre, and tradition: Todorov 1981:24–25.

26. Page 1963:22; Lesky 1967:75; Dihle 1970:11–26.

27. E.g., Evelyn-White 1914:xxx; M. West 2003 (complicated pedigree of textual conflation comparable to Reinhardt 1961:349ff.).

28. Lord 1960:159; Page 1963:23; Fenik 1964:32–33, 1968:229–240; Nagler 1974:24–26; Jensen 1980:30–36; Nagy 1990b:130–131.

29. Parry 1971 (404–407 on Arend); Lord 1960; Fenik 1968; M. Edwards 1992.

30. Katz 1991; Ahl and Roisman 1996:205–272; Danek 1998. Return to a wife as a tale type in South Slavic oral epic: Foley 1999:115–167.

31. On Homeric repetition and analogy, I have found especially helpful Lohmann 1970; Austin 1975:115–129; Andersen 1987; M. Edwards 1987a:61–77, 1991:11–23; Lowenstam 1993b:1–12.

32. Homeric: Fenik 1964:148–154, 1974:133–232; Nickel 2002. Cyclic: Welcker 1865–1882, 2:13; Pestalozzi 1945:34; Kullmann 1960:224; Fenik 1964:10, 38–39, 1968:237–238.

33. Priority of the Teuthranian expedition: R. Carpenter 1946:54–64; Kullmann 2005:26–27.

34. Fenik 1968:213–214; M. Edwards 1987b:50–51, 1991:19–20.

35. At Hupe 2006c:155–159, the flame around Achilles' head is discussed in reference to an apparent nimbus around a representation of Achilles' head on a fragmented Hellenistic oinochoe found in ancient Tyras in the northern Black Sea area (Hupe 2006, pl. 41.2–4).

36. Schoeck 1961:75–80; Alden 2000:169–175. The Trojans explicitly compare the two at 6.96–101.

37. Cf. the Vergilian use of terms like *alter* in the *Aeneid* for explicit character modeling; see Hardie 1993:17–18.

38. Achilles ~ Euchenor: Kullmann 1960:309, 1981:24–25, 1991:441 n.65; Fenik 1968:4, 148–149; Achilles ~ Menesthios: Schoeck 1961:54; Asios ~ Achilles (and Patroklos): Lowenstam 1981:115; Achilles ~ Hippothoos: Rabel 1991; Achilles ~ Euphorbos: Nickel 2002:228–231; Achilles ~ Dolon: Louden 2006:141.

39. Lang 1969; Lowenstam 1993b:207–228.

40. H. Clarke 1981:214; Danek 1998:5; Scodel 2002: 4; Currie 2006:3.

41. Schoeck 1961; similarly Willcock 1997:187–188.

42. Schadewaldt (1965:155) spoke of looking over the poet's shoulder and discovering the secrets of his composition. Cf. J. Kakridis 1971:17–18; Kullmann 1981:23.

43. Argonautica influence on the *Odyssey:* Meuli 1921; M. West 2005. Folktales: Page 1955:1–20, 1973; Glenn 1971; Hölscher 1978, 1989; Hansen 1990, 1997, 2002; Burgess 2001a:94–114. Near Eastern: Burkert 1992, 2004; M. West 1997; E. Cook 2004 (on the Gilgamesh Epic, see also Burgess 1999; Bakker 2001).

44. Else 1957:585–586; Whitman 1958:39–45, 267–271; Schein 1984:19–25; M. Edwards 1987a:188–97; Taplin 1992 (esp. 83–109, 257–284); Finkelberg 1998:142–144; Dué 2002:39–40; Dowden 2004:201–202. The observation goes back to antiquity; in chapter 23 (1459α) of the *Poetics* Aristotle states: νῦν δ᾽ ἕν μέρος ἀπολαβὼν ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται αὐτῶν πολλοῖς οἷον νεῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεισοδίοις [δὶς] διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποίησιν (Focusing on one part [Homer] employs many episodes of other parts, such as the catalog of ships and other episodes by which he breaks up the composition). The phenomenon is also recognized in Eustathios; see Rengakos 2004:292 for passages and discussion.

45. Unitarian analysis: Scott 1921:167–171; Tsagarakis 1982. Oralist: Bowra 1930: 110–112; Lord 1960:187–188; Kirk 1985:286–287.

46. Kullmann 1960:5 n.2, 366–367 (with brief mention of the death of Achilles); see also Kullmann 2000: esp. 388–389; 1981:42. Other neoanalyst attention to reflection of the whole war: Pestalozzi 1945:39–41, 46–52; Schoeck 1961:16, 117–120; J. Kakridis 1971:32, 61. Heubeck (1991; 1954:70–91), an early adherent of neoanalyst methodology, insightfully demonstrated the *Iliad*'s portrayal of the whole war.

47. Schein 1984; M. Edwards 1990:312–313; Slatkin 1991, esp. 107–110; Danek 1998, 2001, 2002.

48. New Criticism: Beardsley and Wimsatt 1954 ("The Intentional Fallacy"); more recently: Barthes 1986:49–55 ("The Death of the Author"). Controversial defense of intention: Knapp and Michaels 1985. Discussion: Kermode 1983:201–220 (with response by P. D. Juhl).

49. Cf. Farrell 1991:21–23; Hubbard 1998:14–15; Hinds 1998:47–50; Thomas 1999:1; Edmunds 2001:viii–ix, 19–38. See now Farrell 2005, with the response by Kennedy 2005 (Farrell 2005:99: "[I]n these post-structuralist days, most critics (of Latin poetry anyway) try to finesse the issue of intention"). Nuanced defense: M. Heath 2002: 59–97.

50. Cf. Lohmann 1970:209–212, 284: the sophistication of Homeric "mirroring" is attributed to literate composition, though with an oral background.

51. Austin 1975:115–118; Lowenstam 1993b:4–7.

52. Mythological paradigms: Willcock 1964, 1977; Lohmann 1970. Similarity to other types of Homeric repetition and analogy: Lohmann 1970:183–212; Austin 1975: 124–126; Lowenstam 1993b:3–4. Intratextual relevance of paradigms: Martin 2001, esp. 52–54. Paradigms as oral intertextuality: Danek 1998:508. "Paradigmatic" connections between Briseis and non-Iliadic lamenting figures: Dué 2002:5–8, 86–88.

53. J. Kakridis 1949:11–42, 127–148.; Willcock 1964:147–153; Rosner 1976; Morrison 1992:119–124; Hainsworth 1993:130–140; Alden 2000:179–290.

54. Bibliography on the issue: Alden 2000:240 n.152; the correspondence is now widely accepted.

55. Distinction between the "message" by Phoinix to Achilles and the "code" perceived by the audience: Nagy 1979:105–106 (cf. Andersen 1987:4–7 on "argument" and "key").

56. Audience-oriented theory: Holub 1984. "Horizon of expectations": Jauss 1982 (esp. 28–32 in reference to ancient literature). Cf. the "implied reader" of a text: Iser 1974, 1978; applied to oral tradition at Foley 1991:38–60.

57. See Severyns 1928; Burgess 2001a, index s.v. "Aristarchus;" Ballabriga 1998: 11–22.

58. Slatkin 1991; Danek 1998, 2001, 2002.

59. Limitations of audience's knowledge or interpretative abilities: Andersen 1998 (opposed at Schein 2001, 2002); Scodel 2002. Homeric suppression: Burgess 2001a:249 n.92. Homeric "misdirection" of the audience: Morrison 1992.

Chapter 5 · The Death of Achilles in the Iliad

1. Burgess 1997. See also now M. West 2003:10–11. Burgess 2006b provides a summary of the argument in this chapter.

2. *Pace* Willcock 1983, 1987; Kullmann 2005:16–21.

3. Schadewaldt 1965:159 (book 1, scene 2), following Welcker 1865–1882, 2:173–174. Significantly, scene 5 of book 1 of Schadewaldt's "Memnonis," in which Achilles learns of the death of his friend, renounces his withdrawal, and announces his intention of vengeance, is bracketed (Schadewaldt 1965:159; graph at 173), as is the scene of Thetis advising withdrawal (book 1, scene 2 ; Schadewaldt 1965:159). Cf. Currie 2006:25 for

similar bracketing. Differently, that Achilles was on the field and immediately killed Memnon after Antilochos's death: Pestalozzi 1945:11.

4. Poetic creativity as cause of the difference: Schadewaldt 1965:171, 182–183. The abruptness of Nestor's suggestion as evidence of motif transference: Kullmann 1960:309–310, 313; Schadewaldt 1965:167.

5. J. Kakridis 1949:94; Pestalozzi 1945:9–11; Schadewaldt 1965:163; Kullmann 1960:31–32, 314–316, 1981:19–20, 1991:441–442; Schoeck 1961:20–22; M. Edwards 1990: 313, 1991:18; Janko 1992:379; Heitsch 2001:81–84, 210–231 (esp. thorough). Analysts had concluded that the passage was a late addition to the *Iliad* (see Kullmann 1981:7). Opposition: Dihle 1970:11–12 (reply at Kullmann 1960:31–32); Kelly 2006 (esp. thorough).

6. Pestalozzi 1945:17, 76–77; P. Kakridis 1961:293 n.1; Heubeck 1974:46; Kullmann 1984:313–315, 1991:441 n.65; M. Edwards 1987a:63–64, 1991:18; Janko 1992:409.

7. Schoeck 1961:76–77; Kullmann 1960:314–315.

8. Fenik 1968:234–236, supported by Taplin 1992:164 n.18; Hainsworth 1993 ad loc.

9. Pestalozzi 1945:45; Schadewaldt 1965:195; 85–91; Schoeck 1961:85–91; Janko 1992:313, 315–317.

10. Pestalozzi 1945:13–15, 44–45; Schadewaldt 1965:169; Kullmann 1960:34, 318, 2005:20–24; Schoeck 1961:15–16, 23–29, 58–61; Janko 1992:313, 371–372; Burgess 2001a: 73–74.

11. Whitman 1958:200; McLeod 1987:37.

12. *Pace* Schoeck 1961:25, 60; Clark and Coulson 1978:65–70; Janko 1992:394.

13. Pestalozzi 1945:13–15; Schadewaldt 1965:160, 165; Kullmann 1960:318–320; Schoeck 1961:8, 16, 23–25; Janko 1992:313, 395–396. Opposition: Dihle 1970:17–20; Davies 1989a:57. Defense: Kullmann 1960:34–36.

14. Surveys of the issue: Holland 1894–1897:2676–2679; Bothmer 1981:72, 76–77.

15. Clark and Coulson 1978, with response at Bothmer 1981. In the *LIMC,* Weiss 1986 (the "Eos" article) tends to favor identification of Memnon on uncertain vases, whereas Kossatz-Deissmann 1992 (the "Memnon" article) is more skeptical.

16. Schadewaldt 1965:165; Kullmann 1960:35, 36. Thanatos and Hypnos are said to be children of Nyx at Hesiod *Theog.* 758–759. Eos is said to be child of Nyx at Quintus of Smyrna 2.625–627 but not elsewhere (e.g., not at Hes. *Theog.* 371–374).

17. That the Euphronios vase follows a Lycian tradition, on the evidence of its non-Homeric details: Lowenstam 1997:29.

18. Fenik 1968:237; Dihle 1970:19–20.

19. Pestalozzi 1945:45; Schadewaldt 1965:195; Schoeck 1961:68–74; Janko 1992:399; Burgess 2001a:74. Cf. 6.306–307, where the Trojans pray that another *altera persona* of Achilles (Diomedes) fall *at the Skaian gates.*

20. On the duality, cf. Schadewaldt 1965:169; Schoeck 1961:15–17; Kullmann 1984:310, 2005:10; Heubeck 1991:472. The correspondence between Patroklos and Antilochos is stressed over the correspondence between Patroklos and Achilles.

21. Currie 2006:26, 38–39. The argument is made in reference to the fascinating complexity of mirroring found in the *Aeneid;* I cannot agree that Vergilian poetics have implications about the method of Homeric motif transference.

22. Pestalozzi 1945:45; Heubeck 1991:464–465; Schadewaldt 1965:176; Kullmann 1960:314–316, 1981:42.

23. Cf. J. Kakridis 1949:85–88; Pestalozzi 1945:16, 45; Schadewaldt 1965:169, 194–195; Kullmann 1960:321, 1981:9, 19, 1984:310, 1991:440; Schoeck 1961:15–16, 68–74; Janko 1992:408–410; Burgess 2001a:74–75. Analogous interpretations: that the death of Patroklos reflects ritual sacrifice of a *therapon* (see Nagy 1979:32–34, 292–295, following van Brock on Hittite ritual substitution); that Patroklos is an *alter ego* or "second self" of Achilles (see Van Nortwick 1992:39–88). Such perspectives may be concurrently valid, of course; for a wide-ranging discussion of the "overdetermined" reflection of Achilles by Patroklos, see Muellner 1996:155–168.

24. See M. Edwards 1991:18, 64; Janko 1992:312, 410, 414–415, following Mühlenstein 1987:79–89. Criticism: Nickel 2002 and Allan 2005:2–3. On the seventh-century Rhodian plate that features the corpse of Euphorbos, see Burgess 2001a:77–81, where it is concluded that the image is ultimately "Iliadic-derived."

25. See Burgess 2001a:75. Fenik 1968:217 compares to the death of Alkathoos (13.434–444), where Poseidon is credited with helplessness of Alkathoos before Idomeneus slays him. But Poseidon does not actually strike Alkathoos.

26. Pestalozzi 1945:17–22, 45; Schadewaldt 1965:170; Kullmann 1960:80–81, 328–330, 1981:18–19, 1991:441 n.65; Schoeck 1961:15, 32–37, 129–132; Willcock 1987:192–194; M. Edwards 1991:62, 132; Burgess 2001a:82–83.

27. Pestalozzi 1945:19–20; Schadewaldt 1965:170; Kullmann 1960:328, 1981:19; Schoeck 1961:64–65, 129–132. Suspecting typology: Fenik 1968:233. Linked with Achilles' mutilation of Hektor's corpse by dragging with a thong: Kemp-Lindemann 1975:220; Rabel 1991:129–130; M. Edwards 1991:90.

28. Schoeck 1961:34–37, 49–53, 81–84.

29. Pestalozzi 1945:20–21; Schadewaldt 1965:170; Kullmann 1960:327–329; Schoeck 1961:32–37, 66.

30. Fenik 1964:33 n.2. Representations of the carrying of Achilles by Ajax are early: Burgess 2001a:36.

31. J. Kakridis 1949:65–75; Pestalozzi 1945:26, 32, 42; Schadewaldt 1965:166; Kullmann 1960:331–332, 1984:310, 1991:441; Schoeck 1961:43–44; M. Edwards 1990:312, 1991:139, 144–153.

32. *LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 897* = "Nereides," no. 415 (Paris Louvre E 643). Funeral rite: Alexiou 2002:6.

33. Fenik 1964:31–33; Dihle 1970:20–22; H. Clarke 1981:213–214; Foley 1991:157–159. Response to criticism: Kullmann 1960:36–37.

34. The presence of στροφάλιγγι in a fragment of Stesichoros was part of a description of the corpse of Achilles lying in the dust (cf. στροφάλιγγι at *Od.* 24.39): Garner 1993:160.

35. Pestalozzi 1945:17–18; J. Kakridis 1949:84–85; Schadewaldt 1965:168; Kullmann 1960:38–39, 330, 1991:441 n.65; Schoeck 1961:68; Romilly 1983:26–28; Dowden 1996:59, 2004:201. I discuss this passage in greater detail in a forthcoming work on "quotation" in early epic. The relevant lines are bracketed in West's edition as an interpolation (see M. West 2000b:243–244); though I disagree, West's reasoning underscores that the

phraseology is out of context. For other phraseology suggestive of death in book 18, see Schein 1984:129–132.

36. *Il.* 16.666–683 (Sarpedon), 19.37–39 (Patroklos), 23.184–187, 24.18–21 (Hektor), and Quint. Smyrn. 3.533–543, 697–698 (Achilles). See Onians 1951:292–299; N. Richardson 1974:238–239; Nagler 1974:156–158; M. Edwards 1991:275–276. Nectar and *nekros,* "corpse," are etymologically linked; ambrosia is employed in attempts to immortalize the infants Demophoon and Achilles (chapter 1).

37. Whitman 1958:217; Nagler 1974:184; Nethercut 1976; Frame 1978:153–155; M. Edwards 1991:15–16; Stanley 1993: 237 – 240.

38. Pestalozzi 1945:9; Schadewaldt 1965:167; Kullmann 1960:311, 1981:8–9, 1991:440; Janko 1992:313; M. Edwards 1991:158–159.

39. M. Edwards 1991:153–154, 159–160. Achilles' self-destructiveness: Whitman 1958:142–144; symbolized through "doublets": Nickel 2002:230–231.

40. See Schadewaldt 1965:194; Schoeck 1961:39. Comparable arguments: Reinhardt 1961:376, M. West 2003:7–8.

41. Dihle 1970:14 n.10, 22.

42. J. Kakridis 1949:94; Pestalozzi 1945:11–13, 42, 45; Schadewaldt 1965:164; Kullmann 1960:316–318 (cf. 31–34), 1984:318, 1991:441 n.65; Schoeck 1961:25–31. See further Dietrich 1964; N. Richardson 1993:129–130; Heitsch 2001:232–246. Response to criticism: Kullmann 1960:32–34.

43. Kossatz-Deissmann 1981a:172. Aeschylus depicted Zeus as the bearer of scales for the duel between Achilles and Memnon (see motif C of the death of Achilles *fabula*).

44. Dietrich 1965:294–296; E. Vermeule 1979:76–77, 160–162; M. West 1997:393–394; R. Griffith 1998:215; Michaelidou 2000:141–147; Burgess 2004b:48–49. The Egyptian motif differently is postmortem and concerns ethical judgment. Hittite *comparanda:* Puhvel 1983.

45. Mueller 1984:179; see further Kirk 1990 ad loc.; Burgess 2001a:73. Dares 19 also reports that Patroklos died in battle among the ships (in the first year of the war).

46. Schadewaldt 1965:168; Kullmann 1960:325, 1991:441 n.65. Hesitant: N. Richardson 1993:145. Critical: Dihle 1970:24–26. Response to criticism: Kullmann 1960:39–40.

47. Schadewaldt 1965:168; Kullmann 1960:39–40.

48. J. Kakridis 1949:75–84; Pestalozzi 1945:29–33; Schadewaldt 1965:170; Kullmann 1960:331–333, 1984:310–311, 1991:441 n.65; Schoeck 1961:104–108.

49. J. Kakridis 1949:84. Skeptical: N. Richardson 1993 ad loc.

50. J. Kakridis 1949:75–83; cf. Kullmann 1960:35, 332–333. Critical: Dihle 1970:27–28.

51. "Laying on of hands" as a gesture of healing associated with Cheiron: Robbins 1993:17.

52. J. Kakridis 1949:88; Pestalozzi 1945:29–33; Schadewaldt 1965:173, 180, 195; Kullmann 1960:110, 333–335, 1981:42, 1984:310–311, 1991:441 n.65; 2005:24–25; 15; Schoeck 1961:15; Burgess 2001a:81–82.

53. Whitman 1958:263–264; Kullmann 1960:335, 2005:24–25; Willcock 1973:5; Schein 1984:25; Davies 1989a:65. It is often suggested that other post-Iliadic events are also foreshadowed in these games.

Chapter 6 · Motif Sequences in the Iliad

1. Other types of Homeric "sequence": Hansen 1972; Nagler 1974:112–130. In semio-narrative method: Calame 2003:32. Cf. cognitive "script": Minchin 2001.

2. *Aeneid* role playing: Knauer 1964; Grandsen 1984. Self-consciousness of characters: Lyne 1987:108–109. My analogy is not intended to elide the distinction between literate and oral composition, as sometimes seems to be the case when Vergil is cited in Homeric studies.

Chapter 7 · Burial and Afterlife of Achilles

1. E.g., Solmsen 1982; Bravo 2001:89–115.

2. Rohde 1925:84 n.29; Dihle 1970:17–18; Davies 1989a: 59–60; Bravo 2001:50 n.2, 102. Homeric description of a cenotaph: *Od.* 1.289–292 and 4.584. Neoanalyst perspective: Schadewaldt 1965:162, n.2; Kullmann 1960:41.

3. Robert 1920–1926:1193–1194; Frazer 1921 2:216 n.1; Pfister 1970:182; Davies 1989a: 59. A version of the following section constituted a portion of Burgess 2001b.

4. Rohde 1925:65 (thus for all heroic immortalization); Bravo 2001:62, 89–114.

5. Motif of immortalization by fire: Burgess 2001b; Currie 2005:344–405 (on *Pyth.* 3). Cf. the title of two epigrams about Achilles in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Peplos* (4, 5 Bergk): Ἐπὶ Ἀχιλλέως κειμένου ἐν Τροίῃ, τιμωμένου δὲ καὶ ἐν Λευκῇ τῇ νήσῳ (Over Achilles lying at Troy, and honored on the island Leuke; quoted at Hommel 1980:42–43). With my interpretation, the two epigrams need not follow variant traditions, as is usually thought (Cameron 1993:390; Bravo 2001:102).

6. Unlikely iconographical image of the translation of Achilles, in my view: an armed winged warrior flying over the sea (*LIMC,* "Achilleus," no. 901*; London BM B240; perhaps Achilles' afterlife existence in the Black Sea area). Different traditions of Achilles as sea divinity and epic warrior mixed in this representation: Hommel 1980:25. See now Lowenstam 2008.

7. Linked with Achilles' pyre as symbol of transition: Rohde 1925:21; Mackie 1998.

8. See further Mackie 1998:331, 337–338. That similarities in language suggest Apollonius used the Homeric hymn as a source: N. Richardson 1974 *ad* 237ff.

9. The *Iliad*'s fire imagery, especially in connection to Achilles: Whitman 1958: 128–145.

10. Sources: Gantz 1993:460–463; Padilla 1998:14–16; *LIMC,* "Herakles," nos. 2847–2938.

11. Cf. Burkert 1985:209–210; Boardman 1986; Stinton 1987; Crane 1988:87–91.

12. E. Vermeule 1979:7–8; 118–119; Vernant 1991:229; M. Clarke 1999:137–138, 157–215.

13. *LIMC,* "Herakles," nos. 2916–2918, with Boardman 1986:128–129; Laurens and Lissarague 1989:88–89.

14. Pliny 4.12.83; Pomp. Mela. *De Sit. Orb.* 2.7; Martianus Capella 6.663.

15. Schadewaldt 1965:170; Kullmann 1960:40–42, 333, 1991:445–446; M. Edwards

1990:312; Heubeck 1992 *ad Od.* 24.76–79. The idea is popular; see further Ford 1992: 159; Danek 1998:475; Currie 2006:27. That *Od.* 24.76–79 is interpolated (as well as 50–57): Pestalozzi 1945:24, opposed at Heubeck 1992 ad loc.

16. Reconstruction of the burial and tumulus of Patroklos: Petropoulou 1988 (whose argument is reflected in my translation and analysis). Standard view, that the bones of Patroklos were stored in Achilles' tent until Achilles' funeral: N. Richardson 1993:200.

17. Fundamental: Rohde 1925; Dietrich 1965. Recent studies on the Homeric *psyche:* Bremmer 1983; M. Clarke 1999. See also Sourvinou-Inwood 1995; Johnston 1999; Bremmer 2002.

18. I derive this section from a portion of Burgess 1999. On Greek conceptions of otherworlds, cf. Bergren 1975:113–115; Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983:9–13; Burkert 1985:195–199; M. West 1997:137–150; Nakassis 2004.

19. Butterworth 1970; Nagler 1996:145–146; M. West 1983:148–149, 1997:148–150, 418, 2007:345–347.

20. Geryon as allomorph of Hades: Croon 1952; Davies 1988b.

21. Gantz 1993:31; vase depictions: *LIMC,* "Herakles," nos. 2545–2552; "Helios," (vol. V, supplement) nos. 95–99. Discussion of logistics: Lesky 1967: esp. 29–30.

22. Puhvel 1987:138–140; Crane 1988:106, 120–122; Ballabriga 1992:113; Irwin 1997: 388–390.

23. M. West 1983; Graf 1993. Mystery cult elements of Pin. *Ol.* 2: Lloyd-Jones 1985; *Aen.* book 6: Zetzel 1989; Molyviati-Toptsis 1994.

24. Overviews: Hainsworth 1988:289, 292; Garvie 1994:21. Scheria as an Elysion "colored by Hades typology": E. Cook 1992.

25. Puhvel 1987:108 (Vedic), 139–140 (Hittite), 180 (Celtic); E. Cook 1992:251 (Germanic); MacCana 1983:123–131; Green 1993:72–78 (Celtic). Near Eastern manifestations: Spronk 1986:130–131. Egyptian, possibly influencing Greek thought through Minoan intermediation: Nilsson 1950:619–633; E. Vermeule 1979:69–82.; S. West 1988 *ad Od.* 4.563ff.; Alford 1991; E. Cook 1992:253–257; R. Griffith 2001; skeptical: Sourvinou-Inwood 1995:18–56. Etymology of "Elysion": Burkert 1985:198 (Greek; *contra:* Bremmer 2002:5); Alford 1991:155–161 (Egyptian); Puhvel 1987:139 (Hittite; cf. E. Cook 1992: 258 n.69).

26. Nagy 1979: 208; see further Nagy 1979:151–173, 207–209.

27. Evidence against the authenticity of line 166: Solmsen 1982: 23; cf. M. West 1978 ad loc. Hesiodic *Catalog* fr. 204.98ff. M-W also seems to place the dead heroes in a paradise: M. West 1985:119–121; Bravo 2001:93–95; Hirschberger 2004:417–419.

Chapter 8 · Tomb and Cult of Achilles

1. Pfister 1909–1912; Farnell 1921; Antonaccio 1995; Hägg 1999; Deoudi 1999; Boehringer 2001; Ekroth 2002; Currie 2005. Survey of numerous locations for Achilles cult: Fleischer 1884–1886:58–63; Escher 1893:222–224.

2. Snodgrass 1982, 1988; Burgess 2001a:167–168.

3. Cf. Bérard 1982; I. Morris 1988; Whitley 1988, 1991:41–60, 1994, 1995; Polignac 1995.

4. Ionian epic as a narrative substitute for premigration ritual at mainland tombs: Bertolín Cebrián 2006:41–43.

5. Garner 1993:159–163. The Homeric motif of a tomb visible from the sea: Nagy 1979: 338–343.

6. Sources: Gantz 1993:658–659. In 1994 a late sixth-century sarcophagus depicting the sacrifice of Polyxena was discovered in a tumulus excavated near the ancient battlefield of Granikos, on the northeast border of the Troad; see Sevinc 1996, with Hedreen 2001:132–139.

7. Eur. *Hek.* 35–44, with Michelakis 2002:66–83.

8. Not specified in Proklos, but apparently in a different fragmented prose summary: Bernabé 1987:75; Gantz 1993:640, 875 n.70.

9. *LIMC,* "Polyxene," nos. 21–43; *LIMC* "Achilleus," nos. 584–641, with Hedreen 2001:121 n.7, 134–136. Hedreen argues that a tomb is shown on a famous early image of the Polyxena sacrifice (*LIMC,* "Polyxene," no. 26*; London BM 1897.7–27.2); a tomb of human height is indicated on the new Polyxena sarcophagus.

10. Indirect reference to the tumulus of Protesilaos on the Thracian side of the Hellespont: Finkelberg 2002. Allusion to Sivri Tepe, now commonly thought to be identified as Achilles' tumulus in antiquity: Kirk 1990:245. Delusion of Hektor about slaying Achilles: Nagy 1979:28–29, 341.

11. Hommel 1980:9–10; cf. Nagy 1979:343; E. Vermeule 1979:230 n.67. Coexistence of Troad and Black Sea Achilles ritual reflecting a distinction between hero cult and divine honors: Pfister 1909–1912:486–487.

12. Hadzisteliou Price 1973, 1979; Currie 2005:48–55. Pre-Homeric existence of Achilles cult: Farnell 1921:11; Nagy 1979:9–10, 118, 342; Dowden 1989:59, 194–195.

13. Nagy 1979:120, 209–210, 338–343.

14. Aitken 2001; Jones 2001:146–148; Aitken and Maclean 2001: lxxii–lxxv, xli, 2004 (notably Dué and Nagy 2004). Oral traditions underlie testimony for Trojan hero cult: Erskine 2001:110–111. Primacy of literary inspiration for the work: G. Anderson 1986:241–257; Grosshardt 2004.

15. Overviews: Pfister 1909–1912:280; C. Vermeule 1995; Sage 2000; Erskine 2001: 225–253.

16. Complexity and balance in use of Trojan myth by different groups: Erskine 2001.

17. See C. Vermeule 1995:477–478; Sage 2000:211–212.

18. See C. Vermeule 1995:477; Sage 2000:214.

19. Lucian *Charon* 23; for the biographical anecdote, see Graziosi 2002:159; Pfister 1909–1912:518.

20. See Mossman 1995:48 n.2; Michelakis 2002:60, 68–70. That Achilles appeared on the Trojan side: Paley 1874:521 and Hopkinson 2000:172.

21. Hdt. 9.116–120. See Nagy 1987; Boedeker 1988; Jones 2001:145. Modern (inconclusive) archaeological work: Demangel 1926; Aslan et al. 2003:187–189; Hertel 2003: 180–182. Sigeion as an alternative location for Protesilaos's tumulus: e.g., C. Vermeule 1992, on the basis of a fourth-century BCE relief (*LIMC,* "Protesilaos," no. 12*; Athens NM 802); c*ontra:* Boedeker 1988:35 n.18.

22. Strabo 13.1.32, Arrian 1.12.1; see Pfister 1909–1912:306–307. Examples dating after antiquity discussed below.

23. Survey: J. Cook 1973:14–51; select travelers: Constantine 1984.

24. Excellent illustrations of the area, including tumuli; the Sigeion ones identified as Achilles' and Patroklos's: Gell 1804.

25. The larger tumulus as the tomb of both Achilles and Patroklos, the smaller identified as that of Antilochos or some other hero: Chandler 1825:52; Dallaway 1797:350. The large tumulus for Achilles, Patroklos, and Antilochos together (cf. *Od.* book 24), the two mounds identified as Patroklos's and Antilochos's being cenotaphs: Lechevalier 1791:148–149.

26. Excavations of the Sigeion tumuli: J. Cook 1973:159–165; Hertel 2003:161–176. Lechevalier's claims: Lechevalier 1791:150–152; Constantine 1984:92. Lechevalier and the excavator Gormezano were under the employ of the diplomat Choiseul-Gouffier.

27. Schliemann 1881:654 no. 1513; cf. Koehler 1826:671; J. Cook 1973:161.

28. Korfmann 1989, 1999:29–30, 2000:42–43; Korfmann et al. 1984, 1985, 1986. Summaries of recent excavation at Sivri-Tepe: Rose 1999:61–63, 2000:65–66. Possibility of a small prehistoric form of Sivri Tepe: Korfmann 1999:29–30; Rose 2000:66. Survey of the archaeological work at the forty or so tumuli in the Troad (ca. thirty near Troy): Aslan et al. 2003.

29. Also excavated, a fourteenth-century BCE prehistoric cemetery between the bay and Sivri Tepe: Basedow 2000; summary of findings: Aslan et al. 2003:178–179. It does not seem relevant to the issue of Achilles' tomb, or the Trojan War (*pace* Wood 1985:168; Kirk 1985:49–50, 247; Luce 1998:138–141, 2003:27).

30. Korfmann 1986:11–12; Janko 1992 *ad* 15.233–5. Cf. Luce 1998:44, 237 n.44, 2003: 11, 25 (review of Achaean harbor issue, with idiosyncratic solution).

31. Opposition to the now common identification of Sivri Tepe as Alexander's tomb of Achilles: Hertel 2003:161–175, 200–203.

32. Heubeck 1992 *ad Od.* 24.84. Homeric awareness of tumuli metamorphoses: Nagy 1979:160. Superiority of epic over tomb (and proto-epitaphs): Scodel 1992. Cf. the double name of the tumulus at *Il.* 2.813–814 ("Bateia" to the gods, "Myrine's tomb" to mortals).

33. Annual report: *Studia Troica.* Collection of brief essays based on the expedition results, with extensive illustrations: *Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart, 2001). General account, with emphasis on Hittite texts: Latacz 2004.

34. Inhabitants: Erskine 2001:96, 108–111. Besides Hektor's imagined tumulus, and Euripides' apparently Thracian tomb of Achilles, cf. the claim of Aeneas at *Aeneid* 6.505 to have created a cenotaph for Deiphobos (Bleisch 1999). See Papaioannou 2007:273–279 for fluid concepts of tombs in Ov. *Met.*

35. Convenient summaries, with provocative interpretations: Hommel 1980 (response at Hooker 1988); Hedreen 1991. The possible relation between the Black Sea cult and the *Aithiopis:* Burgess 2001a:160–166. Now Hupe 2006 (German-language collection of chapters by various Ukrainian and Russian archaeologists, along with the contributions and editing of J. Hupe) provides an excellent and much-needed synthesis of the archaeological evidence for the Black Sea cult of Achilles, as well as

the history of its scholarship. Though it only became available to me at a very late stage in the composition of this book, I indicate its main contributions below. The Ukrainian and Russian works cited below are known to me through the translations or summaries by Ilona Kosova and Julia Lougovaya, with the transliteration of personal names following a consistent system, even when these vary in the works cited.

36. See Burgess:2001a:161, with bibliography. *Contra:* Bravo 2001:99–104.

37. Early description: Koehler 1826:599–607; cf. Tolstoi 1918:27–45. Recent archaeological work: Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993 (brief English summary), 1996 (French); Okhotnikov 2006. Summary of findings: Treister and Vinogradov 1993: 533–534. As noted above, in the Roman period Berezan also became regarded as "Achilles' island."

38. Cf. Burgess 2001a:165–166; Bravo 2001:98–114.

39. On the Pontarches phase of the cult: Diehl 1953; Hupe 2006b.

40. Leuke temple: Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993:20–21; Rusyaeva 2003 (who stresses the implications for divinity); Okhotnikov 2006:58–61. Other Achilles cult locales: Escher 1893:222–223; Dowden 1989:49–68. On hero-divinity duality, see Ekroth 2002:77, 99, 101–102, 127; Herakles is comparable.

41. Minns 1913:451–471; Vinogradov and Kryzickij 1995.

42. Rusyaeva 1975, 1990, 1992:70–83; Kurbatov 1982; Buiskikh 2006.

43. *IOSPE* I no. 325; Hupe 2006a, plate 7.1–2. The inscription at once indicates Olbian control and Panhellenic visitation: Hedreen 1991:322; Burgess 2001a:165.

44. Overviews of inscriptions and graffiti for Achilles cult: *SEG* XLI pp.209–210; Yailenko 1980:84–88; Dubois 1996:95–107; Hupe 2006a, with plates.

45. The key publication is Rusyaeva 1971; Buiskikh 2006 provides a thorough overview of the finds at Beikush through the fieldwork of Rusyaeva and subsequently by Buiskikh. A much smaller number of similar disks have been found in other northern Black Sea locations: see Rusyaeva 2006:36–37. As is noted with understandable frustration by Buiskikh, Western scholars have learned of these disks slowly, and often mistakenly. Still, the harsh criticism at Buiskikh 2006:130–131 of Hedreen 1991, which has served well as an English-language overview of the Black Sea cult, is unwarranted. The domestic nature of Beikush has been convincingly refuted by Buiskikh, yet it is fair to note that early publications pointed cautiously in this direction. In any event, the current trend toward close cooperation between Ukrainian and Western scholars, as evidenced by Hupe 2006a among other publications, is to be celebrated.

46. Precise description: Buiskikh 2006:124–127; illustrations and plates: Dubois 1996:101–103;, Hupe 2006a, pls. 32, 34–36.

47. Survey of the bibliography: Buiskikh 2006:148 nn.294–295. Koehler 1826 is commonly cited, but I see no trace of this argument beyond reference to native participation in the Olbian cult of Achilles in the Roman Empire (644) and reference to possible damage of the Leuke temple by natives in the Middle Ages (604–605). Welcker 1865–1882 2.221 n.94 disavowed his earlier advocation. Eustathios in his commentary on Dionysios Perigetes (306), as well as the Byzantine Leon Diakones (*Historia* 9.6), asserted that there was a second Achilles who was a Skythian king.

48. Fleischer 1884–1886:8–59; disputed by Diehl 1953:3.

49. Skeptics include Hirst 1902:247–252; Diehl 1953:7, 17–18; Rusyaeva 1992:48–49; Okhotnikov and Ostroverkhov 1993:71–73; Buiskikh 2006:148–149.

50. Cultic phraseology of the fragment: Hommel 1980:9–12. Cf. the black-figure ostraka from Tyras with [——] ΛΕΙ | ΣΚΥ [——] (Hupe 2006a, pl. 41.1), which has been reconstructed with reference to the Alkaios fragment (see Hupe 2006c:155–156).

51. Minns 1913:481–482; Hupe 2006b:201–209.

52. Reasonable discussion: Hupe 2006d. There are isolated instances of non-Greek or apparently non-Greek names on votive offerings from the sixth and fifth centuries.

53. Herodotos 4.17, with Hartog 2001:108–116; *IOSPE* 1^2 no. 32.

54. Solovyov 1999:6–8; Tsetskhladze 1998:20–21, 44–47; Kryzhitskii 2000:170–172.

55. That Achilles was in origin a sea divinity who ruled over an island of the dead: Hommel 1980; response at Hooker 1988. Hommel's thesis has been influential among eastern European scholars, but I resist the desire to identify origins (divine, chthonic, Milesian). In the preceding chapter I argue that there was continuity between theological conceptions of the underworld and paradise locations.

56. Hupe 2006a, pls. 35.1, 36.1; see Buiskikh 2006:140–141.

57. Thordarson 1972. Brief synopsis of apparently independent correspondences between Homeric and Caucasian motifs (including "Achilles' heel," 360–362): Christol 1997. Strong opposition to the once influential theory of Meuli and Dodds that Skythian Shamanism had influenced Greek thought (e.g., the legendary travel of Aristeas of Prokonnesos to the far north by supernatural possession [Herodotos 4.13–15]): Bremmer 1983:24–53, 2002:27–40.

58. The connections confirmed from an agricultural perspective: Marcenko and Vinogradov 1989.

59. A complex of motifs shared by Achilles and various figures in north Iranian myth, including Ossetian myth, independently derived from an Indo-European proto-Achilles figure: Tuite 1998.

Conclusion

1. See Dué 2002:40 on the *Iliad* as a "micronarrative" of the "macronarrative" of the whole Trojan War.

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